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REMARKS

ON THAT PART OF

THE REV. J. KING'S

PAMPHLET, ENTITLED

"MAITLAND NOT AUTHORIZED TO CENSURE MILNER,"

WHICH RELATES TO THE

WALDENSES,

INCLUDING A REPLY

TO THE REV. G. S. FABER'S

SUPPLEMENT, ENTITLED

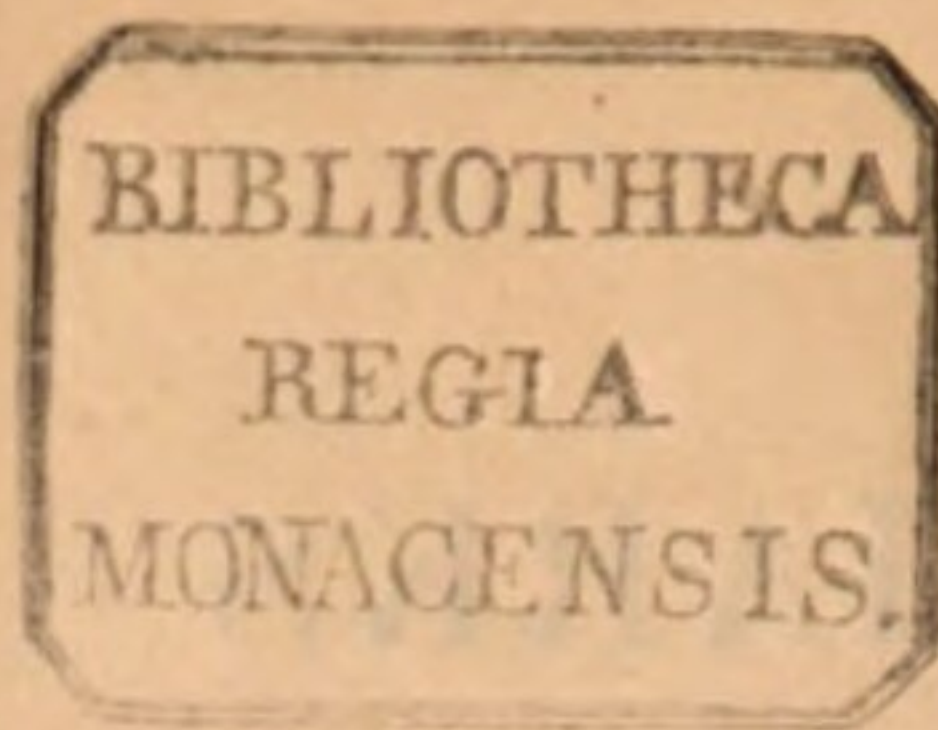
"REINERUS AND MAITLAND."

BY THE REV. S. R. MAITLAND.

LONDON :

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ADVERTISEMENT.

It is not perhaps very material to explain why these remarks have not appeared sooner; but there are some reasons which induce me to say a few words on the subject. The Waldensian part of Mr. King's pamphlet, entitled "Maitland not authorized to censure Milner," was, with regard to the controversy to which it affected to refer, all but totally irrelevant—as a criticism on my book respecting the Albigenses and Waldenses, it did not seem to require any notice—and I had but one motive for thinking of a reply. Yet I had one; and that was the desire which I have long felt to disabuse the public who are continually deluded by false statements respecting those sects, and to take every fair opportunity of bringing the subject into notice. Desirous as I was, however, to do this, I purposed to abstain from writing again on the subject until I should have consulted some books not easily accessible, and which circumstances have not yet permitted me to see. I wished to obtain a sight of them, not with any reference to Mr. King's statements, or from any distrust of my own. It had been my desire before he wrote; and my object was to add to the facts and documents which I had collected. A mere exposure of Mr. King's mistakes, it did not seem worth while to write; especially as I really thought that he could

not long remain unconscious of them, or of the necessity of publicly confessing them. I supposed that some of the grosser, at least, would be discovered by him, or pointed out by his friends; and that, at all events, he could not write a second pamphlet, having the least reference to the first, without taking the opportunity, if not to apologize for, at least to acknowledge some of them, in such a way as to render it unnecessary for any body else to notice them. In this, as appears by the letter prefixed to his "Examination of Milner's History of the Fourth Century," I was mistaken. The tone is that of triumph, and it is plain that Mr. King is still highly pleased with his Waldensian and Paulician performances. His criticisms on those points, he finds, are unanswerable, because they are unanswered. The charge is, that I have run away from them, and the challenge is to "grapple with" them. I felt, therefore, on receiving his letter, that I was bound to do so; and to notice those criticisms so far as to shew that, instead of their being as formidable as the author pretended, I had, shewn myself anything but a "merciless antagonist" in saying so little about them, that I had not led even the author himself to suspect their miserable errors.

On the same day, however, on which I received Mr. King's pamphlet, two letters, written to a third person by Mr. Faber, were, by his direction, forwarded to me. I learned from them that, misled by Mr. King's representation of what I had said about Reinerius Saccho, he intended to make a public attack on me. As Mr. Faber stated that he knew my book only by Mr. King's pamphlet, it appeared to me that an answer to one of those gentlemen would be an answer to both; and that it would be best to see what

Mr. Faber would say, before I should reply to Mr. King. I had no reason to apprehend that this would cause any delay; for, as I have said, I received both on the same day. That day was the 16th of January; and a letter from Mr. Faber, dated the 19th, informed me that before it could reach me, his vindication (as he was pleased to call it—it being a vindication from a charge which nobody ever made, and no vindication from a charge which was made, and is here repeated) would be sent off to his printer for insertion at the end of his “shortly-forthcoming work.” I expected, therefore, that Mr. Faber’s vindication would be out quite as soon as I could prepare a reply to Mr. King, and what has caused the delay I know not; but as some of Mr. King’s friends have shewn signs of impatience, I wish to state that I looked in vain for any public advertisement of Mr. Faber’s book until the month of May; and did not get a sight of the book itself until the 14th of that month; and on that day, finding that I had waited in vain, as Mr. Faber had merely printed much the same as what he had before written under the false impression which I had attempted to remove, and declared that he had not seen, and did not mean to read, my book to which I referred him, I sent the first part of this pamphlet to the press. I feel it the more necessary to mention these circumstances, because I have publicly stated that I was waiting to see Mr. Faber’s work; and now, that it is published, the preface is dated “Dec. 6, 1834,” which, even supposing it to be a misprint for 1835, might still lead to a very natural supposition, that it had been already published when I professed to be waiting for it.

As this pamphlet may probably fall into the hands of some who may not be aware of the manner in which the

dispute has arisen, I wish also to say a few words on that point. Nearly ten years ago I published an "Enquiry into the grounds on which the prophetic period of Daniel and St. John has been supposed to consist of 1260 years;" in which I endeavoured to shew that there was no ground for that mystical interpretation, and that the period was one of 1260 natural days. Mr. Faber had long been one of the most popular writers in favour of that system, for which the world is principally indebted to Mede, by which the days are made years, and (according to the time when they began, as to which the interpreters disagree among themselves) are supposed to have nearly, or more than, run out. For many years Mr. Faber interpreted the two Witnesses in the Apocalypse to mean the "pre-Christian" and "post-Christian" church; but, seeing reason to alter his system in that and in some other points, he discarded that interpretation, and in his Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, published in the year 1828, he made the two churches of the Albigenses and the Waldenses, the Witnesses. On this account it became necessary for him (as he made the testimony of the Witnesses begin in A. D. 604,) to say something of the antiquity of these sects, and he very boldly undertook to prove it by five documents which he produced.

1. What he terms the "official testimony of an Inquisitor," whom he represents as "contemporaneous," though the document itself mentions events which occurred in the year 1489, and should probably be dated in the beginning of the sixteenth century. A more complete misunderstanding, and misrepresentation, of the date and meaning of a document has perhaps hardly ever been seen.

2. A Canon of the Council of Tours held in A. D. 1163,

which says that, “in the parts about Thoulouse a damnable heresy had long since sprung up”—*dudum emersit*.

3. A letter, as he states, from the Archbishop of Narbonne to the King of Arragon, (but, in fact, from the Council of Lavaur to the Pope,) which, in A. D. 1213, speaks of the Albigensic heresy as “*antiquitus* seminata.” Mr. Faber does not add that the same letter speaks of Count Raymond, a man then alive, as having favoured that heresy, “*ab antiquis* temporibus.”

4. A letter of Louis IX. of France, written to the Citizens of Narbonne, in which he speaks of the heretics as having flourished for a long time—“*longo tempore*”—which, considering the state in which St. Bernard found Thoulouse sixty years before his Majesty was born, does not prove much; and will not carry Mr. Faber very far back into that series of ages in which Albigenses and Waldenses are not to be found.

5. The testimony of Reinerius Saccho—of which more presently.

As Mr. Faber's Sacred Calendar was not published until long after I had become convinced that none of the systems founded on the mystical interpretation of the 1260 days was worth minute examination, I scarcely looked at it until (I believe between two and three years after its publication) my attention was called to this new Albigensian and Waldensian part of his system. I thought it would be right to take some notice of these testimonies which were brought forward with an air of triumph and a pretence of demonstration, very likely to mislead readers unacquainted with the original sources of information on the subject; and this grew into rather a large compilation, in which I attempted

to set before the reader the original, and as literal a translation as I could make, of as many of those ancient documents on which our knowledge of the Albigenses and Waldenses is founded, as were within my reach. I began by a reply to the five testimonies produced by Mr. Faber. What I said of the first four, it would be out of place here to repeat; but as my reply to the fifth has been the subject of Mr. King's misapprehension, which he has communicated to Mr. Faber—as Mr. King plainly says that I “distort the most explicit historical testimony,” p. 12. and “have recourse to perversions of historical details, and to tortuous reasonings, for the purpose of shaming the friends, and of honoring the enemies of true religion,” p. 73.—and as many other persons may be in the same circumstances and frame of mind as Mr. Faber, who has not read my book, and does not mean to do it—it seems necessary to extract the whole of my reply respecting the testimony of Reinerius, and I therefore here reprint it entire and verbatim.

EXTRACT

From, "Facts and Documents illustrative of the History, Doctrine, and Rites of the ancient Albigenses and Waldenses." p. 23.

V. Mr. Faber states that his next "Testimony is that of the Inquisitor General Reinerius Saccho, once himself a Vallensian, and afterward an apostatic persecutor of his former brethren: and," he adds, "this testimony, which was given in the middle of the thirteenth century, subsequent to the final union of the two churches in the valleys of Piedmont, relates, I apprehend, to the joint antiquity of them both." p. 31.

Here I must just remark, by the way, that Reinerius, according to his own account, was not a Waldensian, but one of the Cathari; and as to any "union of the two churches," he seems to have known nothing of it. Nothing can be more distinct than the Albigenses, and Waldenses, in the work of Reinerius, as I shall have occasion to shew—but in the mean time let us have his testimony as it is given by Mr. Faber.

"Reinerius, the apostate persecutor in question, who could not but have been well acquainted with the history of his former associates, and who, as an Inquisitor General, could have no possible object in ascribing to them a fictitious diuturnity, states expressly that one of the three causes which rendered the Vallenses* more dangerous to the Church of Rome than any other sect was THEIR MUCH HIGHER DEGREE OF ANTIQUITY.

"Now Reinerius flourished not more than about seventy or eighty years after the time of Peter Valdo. Hence, both from that circumstance and from the circumstance of having been once himself a Vallensian, the renegade *must have known to a certainty*, whether Valdo was, or was not, the founder of the Valdentic Churches. Such being the case, *if Valdo were indeed their founder*, Reinerius *could not possibly* have described the Valdenses, as being more dangerous to the Church of Rome than any other sect on the specific ground of their higher antiquity: for it were absurd to talk of the high antiquity of a sect, an antiquity confessedly superior to that of any other known sect; if, all the while, this sect had not been in existence more than about seventy or eighty years, and if every person were fully aware that it had been founded by Peter Valdo of Lyons. Yet this is the language employed by Reinerius. Therefore, I think, it indisputably follows, that Peter Valdo could not have been the founder of the united churches of the Vallenses and the Albigenses." p. 31.

* I must guard the reader against supposing that Reinerius called the Valdenses, or Valdenses, *Vallenses*. I have not found this name in any ancient writer as a title of the Waldenses. What is said by Ebrardus will be noticed presently.

To all this I might make a very short reply, which would probably surprise some readers ; and I hope and believe, would surprise Mr. Faber himself : for though he twice quotes the work of Reinerius, without any acknowledgment that his references are borrowed, yet I cannot but believe that he had never seen the book itself, and was in real ignorance of its contents. He has, I suppose, been misled by carelessly copying other writers ; and as the authority of Reinerius has been cited by one after another, for two centuries, and among others by one whose name must command respect, and might almost excuse blind confidence, it may be worth while just to trace the matter as far as I have at present the means of doing it ; and I wish that, in conjunction with many other cases of a like nature, it may tend to put writers on their guard how they adopt authorities, especially in matters of controversy, and so make themselves responsible for the falsehoods and mistakes of their predecessors.

I imagine that this testimony of Reinerius to the “diuturnity” of the Leonists was first alleged by Illyricus ; but I have not at present the means of ascertaining this point. It was, however, afterwards adduced by Mornay du Plessis, in his *Mystery of Iniquity*, which was published, I believe, in 1607. Speaking of the antiquity of the Waldenses, he says, “Lest we should be left to guess as to this antiquity, our opponents themselves vouch for it. Among others, Friar Reinerius, who wrote about the year 1250 ; ‘Among all the sects which are, or have been, there is none more pernicious to the church of God than that of the Poor Men of Lyons, for three reasons : First, because it is older ; some say that it has existed from the time of Sylvester, others say from the time of the Apostles,’ &c.”*

On this Gretser, the Jesuit, in his *Prolegomena* to the work of Reinerius, (which he published in the year 1613,†) observed, “It is vain for Du Plessis to cite Reinerius as an advocate for the fictitious antiquity of the Waldenses, since in his fourth chapter he

* “Huic autem antiquitati, ut divinare non sit opus, adversarii ipsi fidem perhibent ; Frater Reinerius inter alios, qui annum circa 1250 scripsit ; ‘Inter omnes sectas quæ sunt, vel fuerunt, non est perniciosior Ecclesiæ Dei, quam Pauperum de Lugduno, tribus de causis. Prima quia diuturnior ; quidam dicunt quod duraverit a tempore Sylvestri, alii dicunt a tempore apostolorum.’” *Myst. Iniq.* p. 328.

† And which was reprinted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, from whence I quote *Tom. iv. part ii. col. 715. Ed. 1644.*

gives it, not as his own opinion, but, as that of others, that the Waldenses had existed from the time of St. Sylvester the Pope, or, from that of the Apostles.”*

To this (if I may trust Sir Samuel Morland, for I have not the Archbishop's book,) Usher replied in a manner which will appear from the following extract: “The Friar Reinerius Saccon,” says Morland, “writing against the Waldenses, above four hundred years ago, namely 1254, confesses the antiquity of their religion, which he calls a sect; see his very words, taken out of the *Bibliothèque des Peres*, printed at Paris, 1624, the author whereof was Jac. Gretsero, ‘*Inter omnes sectas quæ sunt vel fuerunt, non est perniciosior Ecclesiæ Dei quam pauperum de Lugduno; tribus de causis, Prima, quia diuturnior, quidam dicunt quod duraverit a tempore Sylvestri, alii dicunt quod a tempore Apostolorum,*’ &c. That is to say, ‘Amongst all the sects which are, or ever were, there is none more pernicious to the church of God, than that of the Poor people of Lyons, for three reasons, First, because it is of a longer duration. Some say that it has remained from the time of Sylvester, others from the time of the Apostles;’ and although Gretserus endeavours to shift off the force of the foregoing passage by this evasion, namely, that what Reinerius there speaks, he speaks not as his own opinion, but as the opinion of others. For if Reinerius had not believed that sect (as he calls it) had not been more ancient than the preaching of Waldo, (which was not, as Gretserus himself says, above 94 years before his writing that book) it had been a very ridiculous thing to have at all mentioned the antiquity thereof in such a manner as he there do's. This is the learned and famous Bishop Usher's own observation, and comment, upon the place of Reinerius, in his book *De Christianarum Ecclesiarum successione et statu*, chap. 8. fol. 211, in the following expressions.”—Morland then proceeds to quote a passage which the reader will find below, and which is to the following effect:—“It is however vain for Gretser to urge ‘that Reinerius did not assert as his own opinion, but that of others, that the sect of the Waldenses had existed from the time of Pope Sylvester, or even from that of the Apostles;’ for if we grant that he stated this as the opinion of others, yet it appears that he stated, as his own opinion, ‘that of all sects,

* “*Frustra autem est Plessæus cum fictitiæ Waldensium antiquitati advocatum adsciscit Reinerum; non enim ex sua, sed ex aliorum sententia cap. 4. ait, sectam Waldensium a temporibus S. Sylvestri Papæ, vel etiam ipsorum Apostolorum, durasse.*” Ubi supra, col. 739.

which are or have been, none had been more ancient than that of the Leonists or Waldenses; which sufficiently shews that their first origin was most remote from all memory, and certainly proves (which is the point on which the Jesuit demands proof) that it was no new doctrine which was first brought into the world by the Waldenses and Albigenses, about A.D. 1160, and afterwards spread by a wonderful increase; since only 94 years had intervened between A.D. 1160, and A.D. 1254, when (as Gretser himself tells us, on the authority of the Bibliotheca of Antonius Senensis,) Reinerius flourished. He would have made himself ridiculous to every body who should have talked of the 'diuturnity' of a sect which had not existed above a century."*

Leger thus triumphantly adduces the testimony of Reinerius. After quoting from the account given by the Monk Belvedere, in 1636, he says, "Mais voyons encore le témoignage d'un autre tres-fameux Inquisiteur, aussi expressement établi contre les Vaudois, c'est celui de Reinerus Sacco, qui n'a rien omis tant pour descoler les Vaudois és Vallées, et dans tout le reste de l'Italie, que pour chercher jusques au fonds tout ce que pouvoit estre de cette pretendue heresie et secte, qui faisoit tant de mal au Pape, et qui fleurissoit à son dire, il y avoit environ 500 ans.† Cét Inqui-

* "Frustra autem est Gretserus cum opponit, Reinerium non ex sua sed ex aliorum sententia affirmare sectam Waldensium a temporibus Silvestri Papæ, vel etiam ipsorum apostolorum durasse. Nam, ut hoc demus, ex aliorum sententia fuisse dictum: illud tamen apparet eum dixisse ex sua; inter omnes sectas, quæ sunt vel fuerunt, nullam fuisse diturniorem quam Leonistarum hanc sive Waldensium: quod satis ostendit, primam eorum originem ab omni memoria fuisse remotissimam, evincit certe (quod ostendi sibi postulat Jesuita) novam doctrinam non fuisse a Waldensibus et Albigensibus circa annum Christi MCLX primitus in mundum introductam et postea miris incrementis multiplicatam. Cum enim inter annum Christi MCLX et annum MCCLIV quo fratrem Reinerium claruisse ex Antonii Senensis Bibliotheca docet ipse Gretserus, tantum 94 annorum spatium intercesserit. omnibus ludibrium debuisset, qui talia de diuturnitate proferret sectæ, quam non amplius uno ante seculo exortam constitisset." Morland's History of the Churches of Piedmont, Book I. c. iv. p. 28.

† I suppose it is on the authority of this statement, that Maclaine has said in his translation of Mosheim's History, (Cent. XII. part ii. § xi. note) "The bloody Inquisitor Reinerius Saccho, who exerted such a furious zeal for the destruction of the Waldenses, lived but about 80 years after Valdis of Lyons; and must therefore be supposed to know whether he was the real founder of the Valdenses or Leonists; and yet it is remarkable that he speaks

sîteur dans un livre exprès qu'il a composé sur ce sujet, rapporté par le Jesuite Gretserus en la Bibliotheque des Peres, n'a par le *front de nier* que les Vaudois ne soient dès les tems des Apôtres ; son témoignage merite d'estre icy transcrit de mot à mot en original. Inter omnes sectas," &c.* He had before spoken of "Un fameux Inquisiteur nommé Reynerus Saccone, qui dit que les Vaudois ou *Albigéois* sont du tems de Sylvestre, ou mêmes dès le tems des Apôtres." Ibid. p. 15.

Allix, after quoting the passage of Reinerius, already repeatedly cited, says, "Now it is clearer than the sun, that Raynerus would never have talked at this rate, *if he had known*, that the first rise of this sect was not above seventy years before he wrote this treatise ; as we must acknowledge, if we suppose Waldo to be the founder of it." p. 193. Will the reader believe that Reinerius does expressly state—and that Allix was fully aware that he does so state—that this "diuturnior" sect of Leonists was founded by Peter Waldo ? Will he believe that, in speaking of the Waldenses, only seven pages after the passage just quoted, Allix himself says of the Bishop of Meaux, "He pretends they owe their rise solely to Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, *wherein he follows Raynerus*, cap. 5." ?

What shall we say to this ? Was it dishonesty, or stupidity ? Which ever it was, God forbid that I should charge it upon all those who have made themselves partakers of other men's sins, when carelessness, or vanity, has led them to appropriate authorities which they had never verified ; but it is a sad thing, that error and falsehood should be handed down from one to another till, after frequent repetition, they assume a tone of dogmatism, and authority which seems to preclude all doubt. After reading what I have quoted from Mr. Faber, who refers generally, at p. 36, to

of the Leonists (mentioned by Dr. Mosheim in the preceding page as synonymous with Waldenses) as a sect that had flourished *above five hundred years* ; nay mentions *authors of note* who make their antiquity remount to the apostolic age." See how the story improves. Reinerius now vouches in Leger for *about*, and in Maclaine for *above*, FIVE HUNDRED YEARS. The latter of these writers too has discovered that the Inquisitor "mentions AUTHORS OF NOTE" as vouchers for still higher antiquity. I have never been able to find any thing about 500 years in Reinerius ; nor any reference to any author, of any kind, about the Waldenses—nothing, in fact, but the "quidam dicunt," and the "alii dicunt," which the reader has had in the extract already more than once quoted.

* Liv. I. ch. xxviii. p. 169.

“Reiner. cont. hæret. c. iv. v.” implying, surely, that he knew both the fourth and fifth chapters—who states respecting the Albigenses, and Waldenses, that “the best informed Romanists of that period pretended not to affix any certain date to their origination. They were unable to pitch upon any specific time when these venerable churches existed not. All that they certainly knew was that *they had flourished long since*,” and adds (I presume with a direct reference to “diuturnior,” as the preceding words which he prints in italics, refer, I suppose to “dudum”) “that *they were far more ancient than any mere MODERN sects*”—after all this, I say, would any reader believe that the title and beginning of this very fifth chapter of Reinerius, so referred to by Mr. Faber, are as follows :

De sectis MODERNORUM hæreticorum.

CAP. V.

“Nota, quod secta *Pauperum de Lugduno*, qui etiam *Leonistæ* dicuntur, tali modo orta est. Cum cives majores pariter essent in Lugduno, contingit quendam ex eis mori subito coram eis. Unde quidam inter eos tantum fuit tertius (l. territus) quod statim magnum thesaurum pauperibus erogavit,” &c.

and then he goes on to tell the well-known story of Peter Waldo.

Now, if by thus exposing what may appear to be an inconsistency, I seem, as Usher suggests, to make this poor monk Reinerius Saccho, ridiculous, let me be allowed to add two remarks, which justice seems to demand; and from which I think it will appear that he is not so absurd as his misrepresenters would make him.

First—“Diuturnior,” whether we write it plain, or translate it into “FAR MORE ANCIENT” or “HIGHER ANTIQUITY” is still only comparative; and it is obvious that Reinerius’s idea of “diuturnity,” as applied to the Leonists, was much less magnificent than Mr. Faber’s; for just before, in reckoning up the characteristic excellencies which distinguished the true church from all heretical sects, he says, “The sixth is DIUTURNITY; for it has existed from the times of the apostles; but the authors of heresies are new men, as the Ortlibenses, Runcarii, and the others.”* One of these “novelli” he might suppose to be “diuturnior” than another; and he might be right or wrong in his supposition; but he considered the Leonists as the oldest among the *modern* sects, and

* “Sextum est DIUTURNITAS, quia duravit a tempore Apostolorum. Sed auctores hæresum sunt novelli, sicut Ortlibenses, Runcarii, et cæteri.” Cap. i.

accordingly put them first in his chapter "*De sectis modernorum hæreticorum.*"

Secondly—I see no reason to suppose that Reinerius was particularly well informed as to the history of the *Waldenses*. I have already said that he did not belong to that sect. In fact he distinctly tells us that he belonged to the *Cathari*, a sect which I believe to have differed widely in doctrine from the *Waldenses*, and to have had little or no intercourse with them, except as their companions in peril and in arms, during the Albigensian crusade. This I hope to make apparent hereafter; but, in the mean time, I would observe, that it seems to me very unlikely that Reinerius had any knowledge of the *Waldenses*, except such as he might gain either by public report, or through his office of Inquisitor; and I should not be surprised therefore to find him mistaken in any point relating to *their* history, which was probably unknown to his own sect, and into which it was not his official business to enquire. He knew that some pretended that the *Waldenses* had existed as a distinct sect from the time of Pope Sylvester; and perhaps he believed it in pure ignorance of the time when that Pope lived: and that others said they had existed from the times of the Apostles; and that he certainly did not believe. He as certainly did believe, that they sprang from a certain rich citizen of Lyons, whom we cannot doubt to be Peter Waldo; but he does not seem to have known either his name, or date; and, therefore, conceding what he probably could not contradict, he admitted that they were "*diuturnior*" than those other modern sects with which he had a better acquaintance.

I wish the reader to understand that I make these remarks only with a view to put the matter in its right light; and that I am fully aware that their tendency is to lessen the weight of a testimony which, when properly examined, is decidedly in my favour; but I believe that, though a most valuable witness, and one of whom I shall avail myself, as to that sect to which he was attached for seventeen years, Reinerius is no great authority respecting any other. If my object had been simply to carry my point, I might at once have taken Mr. Faber's words, "having been once himself a Vallensian, the renegade MUST have known to a CERTAINTY whether Waldo was, or was not, the founder of the Valdensic Churches;" and might have replied, "Well, then, this indisputable renegade does plainly state that the Leonists were a modern sect who sprung from Peter Waldo."

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REMARKS,

&c.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the Letter which Mr. King has addressed to me by way of preface to his "Examination of Milner's History of the Fourth Century," he says, "Both you and Mr. Rose, "seem now rather shy of your First Letter, and dissatisfied "with me for not having noticed, sooner than I deemed it to "be necessary, the contents of your second." p. 7.

I do not know on what ground he says this respecting either of us. As it regards myself, he may have been deceived by some false appearance, though I cannot imagine what it can have been. My publisher will, I am sure, vouch for me, that as soon as I learned that the first edition had been sold, I printed a second; and I will thankfully print, and reprint it, to supply Mr. King gratuitously with as many copies as he pleases, if he will only undertake to place them in the hands of persons in any degree competent to judge in the question. He adds, however, "But why you should re-monstrate with me for not having answered a book which "I never gave you reason to suppose I intended to pass over, "it is your business, not mine to explain." The real state of the case is, however, that he *had* passed over the book—

whether he then meant to take any notice of it at a future time is another question, on which people will form their opinions—but, in fact, he *had* passed it over, in a very peculiar manner; and the remonstrance was not so much directed against his not having *answered* it, as against his having “purposely avoided all mention of it.” He says now, “My reason for not so much as alluding to your second letter was *simply* this. I did not like to deliver an opinion, till I was prepared to confirm it with documentary evidence.” p. 2. But was it impossible to acknowledge the existence of a pamphlet, without delivering an opinion upon it? Had he merely said that there was another pamphlet of mine containing more numerous charges against Milner’s History, which he did not then profess to answer, he could not have been charged with unfairness. When, however, instead of doing so, he pretended to characterize “all” my charges—affected to have shewn that in “all” my most serious allegations I had failed—constantly quoted the “Letter to Rose,” as if there had been but one “Letter to Rose” in existence, and avoided (as he now confesses) all allusion to the second, it did of course look like unfair suppression, and taking advantage of the ignorance of his readers, and trying to make them believe that he was meeting “all” the charges that had been brought against Milner’s History.

Of course it must have this appearance; and though it was difficult to conceive that he could thus suppress the knowledge of the *second* letter to Mr. Rose if he really had it, yet it was so obviously difficult to imagine that he had not seen a pamphlet which had been published five months, that I might without injustice have at once assumed that he knew more about it than he chose to tell his readers, or wished them to know. I had the fullest right to suppose this; but I thought (especially considering that his pamphlet was dated back nearly two months) he might have some expla-

nation to offer; and that, before I began to write, it was better to know what I could only know with certainty from himself, and what it did not seem quite honourable even to enquire from any one else. For what other reason should I have applied to him? "For the purpose," he replies, "of obtaining facts, which you might present with any colouring you pleased to the public." p. 1. But if I had wanted to colour facts, why should I have taken the trouble to enquire minutely respecting them from one who must know; who, to say the least, could be under no temptation to give them such a form as should suit any false colouring against himself; and who, moreover, could at any time expose my falsehood, if I so misrepresented those facts? If I had only wanted to attack him, I had a *prima facie* case which it would have been great folly to risk the loss of, by asking in a civil manner whether he wished to offer an explanation. How I could gain anything by his merely answering the plain questions which I asked, I am at a loss to conceive; but how far he gives "colouring" to what he presents to the public, I feel it necessary to shew by printing the "private application."

"Rev. Sir,

Gloucester, 27 July, 1835.

"As the dedication of the pamphlet which you have lately published respecting my strictures on Milner's Church History is dated May the 28th, and the work did not reach me until the 25th July, I take the liberty to enquire from you when it was published, and whether at the time of its publication you knew of my second letter to Mr. Rose.

"Wishing for this information, it appears to me to be the most straightforward course to apply to yourself. Should you favour me with any reply you will not of course consider it as private—as my object is not merely to know the truth on these points, but to have it in my power to state them on authority which cannot be disputed.

I am, &c."

I should be glad to print Mr. King's reply; and I pre-

sume that the terms of my letter would fully justify me. But as he might think otherwise, and yet could not prevent it when once done—as I have no wish to make another private application to him, to ask if he would approve it—and as it is in his power to make his letter public if he pleases, I do not do it; and merely observe, that it contained a refusal of information on the points of enquiry.

My object was to avoid making a false charge, by giving Mr. King an opportunity of setting me right, if I was wrong, by an explanation. He was of course at full liberty to decline giving it; and he is also at liberty to keep up the mystery; but when he talks of having given a “public answer,” and positively states that he “never gave” me “reason to suppose that” he “intended to pass over” my second letter to Mr. Rose, I must observe that his “public answer” is no explanation, and contains not even an allusion to that part of the matter which seems most to need one. The dedication of his pamphlet was dated the *twenty-eighth of May*. The title and dedication of the first edition of a work are generally printed *after* all the other part; and when (as in the pamphlet in question) they are on a quarter sheet, nobody who has the slightest knowledge of the technicalities of the press can doubt that it was so in any particular case. There is (as far as I know) no proof of any kind that Mr. King knew of my Second Letter on this *twenty-eighth of May*; but there is proof that his attention was called to it by an article published in the British Magazine on the *first of June*, to which he replied by a letter dated the *fourth of June*; in which letter he spoke of his work as still in the press. I did not receive it until the *twenty-fifth of July*, though I have good reason to believe that the copy which was sent me by a friend, was purchased by him on the first day that it was on sale in London, and transmitted without any delay.

I can truly say that I do not, and never did, mean in any way to insinuate all that might be made out of these circumstances. I do not believe that Mr. King's pamphlet was fraudulently antedated; and I know that a variety of things might explain the facts which I have just mentioned. I only state them here to shew that a private application to him was not merely justifiable, but was a courtesy which an opponent who came forward with such offensive personalities, and with so much assumption so ill supported, had no right to expect. How, with the full knowledge of the facts which I have stated, he can attempt to represent my private application as a trick injurious to him, and discreditable to myself, I cannot imagine.

But yet, after telling us that his reason for not so much as alluding to my second letter was *simply* because he did not like to deliver an opinion until he was prepared to confirm it with documentary evidence, Mr. King proceeds to assign another, and a totally different, reason for his conduct. He says, "I was *also* very desirous of keeping the "question, I had proposed to discuss, perfectly clear from "any other which might arise out of the contents of your "second letter, that I might present you with no temptation "to avoid grappling with that, to which your previous pamphlet had led me." p. 2. And what was "that" to which, according to his own account, I had led Mr. King? A personal question respecting myself, and my competency. He tells us that he wrote his title page as he did that he might "*define* clearly" his object, and that the reader "might expect "*nothing beyond* the examination of the comparative claims "of yourself and Milner." p. 23. There is something very humorous in his anxiety to pin me down to *this* question; but most readers will see that he just admits, what he elsewhere so strenuously denies—namely, that he *did* want to make it a personal question; to run away from the question

about Milner's work, and to raise a question about mine. The question of my own competency, to which he was so anxious to confine me, may be a very important one, and he may think me a fit person to discuss it; but of course it is running away from the dispute about the value of Milner's book. It is like the conduct of an advocate who refuses to enter on the merits of the case, and pleads to the jurisdiction of the court. It is often the most politic mode of defence, but it is not generally considered as symptomatic of a good cause. I apprehend, however, that if Mr. King had *not* expected me to grapple with his statements about my own book, and so to be diverted from the examination of Milner's, it would not have been thought worth while to publish his pamphlet at all.

He now tells me however "You want to run away from "your first pamphlet, and I have tried in vain to call you "back." p. 8. He represents me as wishing to appear a "reluctant combatant," and he quotes my observation on his letter to the Editor of the British Magazine;—"if you "chose to quarrel with the Editor of that publication, for "anything which he had written, it is no business of mine, "and he is quite able to defend himself; but what right had "you to drag me into the business?" On this he breaks forth, "'I *drag* you?" No, Sir, I *found* you in the business, and over head and ears in it too." p. 3. What can he mean by this dramatic burst? Can charity itself believe that he really mistook my meaning? If such apparent misapprehensions were less frequent, and had reference to words and things less obviously intelligible, one might give them credit for being genuine; but occurring as they do so frequently, and in such plain matters, and finding that Mr. King maintains a doctrine of "involuntary and wilful mistakes" which is quite new to me, I cannot but suppose that some of these apparent misapprehensions are what he would

call "wilful mistakes."* Did he really think that three years after printing my strictures on Milner's History, and having subsequently printed two pamphlets, I should in my fourth publication on the subject complain that, by a letter which he had written *after* the publication of the first three, he had dragged me into the controversy about Milner? Surely even the "nineteen readers out of twenty" who "must form their opinion on authority of some kind or other, because they cannot have access to original documents," p. 5, and whom, I really think, he must have very principally in view in such statements, will hardly believe such a representation; especially when the very words which Mr. King quotes (to say nothing of the context which we may suppose them not to have seen) sufficiently shew what the *business* was, into which I charged him with attempting to drag me. It was that of which I had just said that it was "no *business* of mine." The *business* was an article in the British Magazine which called forth a letter from Mr. King, and which article was then under discussion. If he did not mean to convey the idea that I was implicated with the Editor in that article, what persons did he mean his readers to understand by "ardent spirits," and "merciless antagonists?" He spoke of me as if I shared the responsibility of that article. And when I deny it, and ask him why he should drag me into the business, he breaks out as if I had

* Mr. King says, "I have yet to learn, what you seem to insinuate, that the word 'mistake' necessarily means a mere inadvertency. You do not use it, I suppose, in that sense yourself, when you speak of my 'mistakes;' and whether you do or not; the distinction between *involuntary* and *wilful* mistakes would be enough to shew that some were innocent and others culpable." p. 10. I beg to state most distinctly that by 'mistake' (unless I any where use it ironically as the equivalent for a grosser word, which I do not remember to have done) I do mean involuntary error; I altogether disavow any knowledge of a theory of mistakes which seems as immoral and jesuitical as any thing that I have heard of as being taught at Maynooth. But I seriously ask the conscientious friends of Milner—will they permit him to be defended on the ground that he made *wilful* mistakes? I have not charged him with any thing so bad.

said something very absurd and obviously false. The unhappy propensity to make it a personal and party question, which is not confined to himself, joined to a strong desire to make it out that my pamphlets have been partnership concerns, has led Mr. King to the distinct assertion of such mere falsehood about Mr. Rose's seeing my pamphlet in manuscript, that that gentleman has been obliged to give a flat contradiction to his statements. Still, as I feel bound to add a further exposure of this note, I shall here give it entire :

“ This second pamphlet, Mr. Rose saw while it was yet only in manuscript, and probably not fully arranged. The opinion Mr. Rose then formed of it, appears from the language he uses in the letter to the Christian Observer already quoted : ‘ If Mr. Scott is not satisfied with these statements, I am much deceived if Mr. Maitland is not ready, as he is able, to go fully into this matter. But if Mr. S. will condescend to listen to one who has no ill-will to Milner or to him, he will let the matter rest. I warn him most seriously, and sincerely, from referring to what I have already by me, that a very few weeks study will ensure such a harvest of strange errors in *facts* in Milner, occasioned by his want of research, and of wide reading, that the book will, at least, not *rise* in public estimation.’ Here are the terms on which Mr. Rose proposed *peace*. I am not aware that anything was done on the part of Milner's friends after this, to provoke the production of this threatened harvest. Yet it came ; and after it challenges for a reply. It will be seen, therefore, where the fault, not only of the origin, but the continuance of the controversy, truly lay.” p. 8.

The first assertion in this note Mr. Rose has very courteously, but very plainly, pronounced to be false ;* but in addition to this I feel bound to ask what Mr. King can mean by talking of Mr. Rose's offering terms of peace, and representing the treaty as violated by my publishing a pamphlet ? What right could Mr. Rose have to make peace, or declare war, in my name ? I am not so great a person as to employ such an ambassador ; and yet too independent to allow any

* Brit. Mag. Feb. 1836. p. 173.

man, however respected, to take such a step in any other character. But it is not only, or principally, for the sake of noticing this cool assumption of what is untrue, that I refer to this note. Mr. King states that he is "not aware" that after Mr. Rose had thus proposed peace, "anything was done on the part of Milner's friends" to provoke the production of the threatened harvest. Indeed? Did he never see Mr. Scott's reply to those very words of Mr. Rose which he has here quoted as terms of peace? He blames me in this second pamphlet, for saying that further evidence was "scornfully" called for, and says, that I "lay to his charge [Mr. Scott's] things that he knew not." If I felt guilty of this, I would ask pardon of God; and so I would (for guilty I should be) if I had ever said that the scorn which Mr. Scott expressed was other than sincere and honest, and founded upon the same firm, though mistaken, confidence in Milner's industry and learning, which led him to vouch that he always had the original writers before him. I believe that Mr. Scott had not made himself acquainted with the charges brought against Milner's History, and that he felt for them a sincere contempt which he was at no pains to conceal—nay, which he very openly expressed. In reproving, however, my use of the word "scornful" Mr. King affirms that Mr. Scott "*only* says—'Mr. R.'s insinuation of inaccuracy, "therefore, can be no further discussed, till he has moulded "it into a distinct and specific charge, supported by particular "instances.' Can any language be more temperate; or is "it possible that you should have had these words before you "when you applied to them the epithet of 'scornful?'" p. 31. Yes, I had these words before me, and I had also some other words which *stand on the same page* of the Christian Observer. My statement is not that Mr. Scott's language was not temperate, but that it was scornful; and though Mr. King may not be "aware of" it, yet Mr. Scott did

reply to the words of Mr. Rose, which are cited in this note, in the following terms; whether the tone is scornful—whether it is not that of complete, not to say contemptuous, defiance—people will judge for themselves: “Though ‘most seriously and sincerely warned’ by Mr. Rose, to avoid the peril of ‘referring to what he has already by him,’ in proof of Milner’s errors and incompetency, I am still rash enough to make the reference, though without any view to entering further into the controversy myself. But if the readers of Milner are indeed so much misled as is pretended, it is due, both to charity and to the great cause of truth, that they should be undeceived, and the incapacity of their guide detected. For myself, I must say, further proof must be afforded me than I have yet seen before I give much credit to the assertion, contradicted by so much apparent fact pervading the history itself, that Milner was ‘prevented from making any full or efficient use of any but secondary sources of information!’”* Was there nothing in this “to provoke,” and indeed most imperatively to call for, a continuation of the controversy in a particular direction? and was not my second letter avowedly written *to meet this particular passage* of Mr. Scott’s letter? Did I not say to Mr. Rose, “after publishing my former letter to you, I proceeded to arrange and collect materials for a fuller examination of the question. After the scornful reply which had been made to your suggestion, that Milner *had availed himself of secondary sources of information*, it seemed necessary to make a few preliminary remarks on that point..... In preparing, however, this, which I considered as merely preliminary matter, I have run to so great a length, that I think it best for the present to postpone the consideration of

* Chr. Obs. Nov. 1834, p. 667. Would not the mere act of reprinting Mr. Rose’s words, with a note of admiration tacked to them, fully justify my use of the word “scornful”?

all other points; and, in this letter, to *enquire merely whether Milner did in fact go to original, or to secondary, sources* for his information; and whether, supposing him to have quoted those original sources mediately or immediately, he did in fact give their testimony correctly.* But Mr. King is “not aware” of all this.

It is very tiresome to be obliged to detail and expose mere evasions and falsehoods; but I feel obliged to notice these, because on the ground of such misrepresentation of my words about dragging me into “the business” Mr. King attempts to set me forth as pretending to be a “reluctant combatant.” I feel it a duty to say that I consider it an honour and a privilege to defend what I believe to be the cause of truth, and of the Church of God, both as it regards Milner’s History and the Waldenses; although those matters have only come into controversy incidentally, in the prosecution of a design which more immediately concerns what is of greater importance than either of them.

On both these subjects, however, I feel so much interest, and I consider it so important to draw the attention of the Christian Church to them, that I should be thankful to discuss either or both of them with any opponent who possessed a moderate knowledge of them, and would argue fairly; but on the present occasion I write not with any view to a discussion of the subjects, but merely in reply to Mr. King’s repeated charges of fraud, and of running away from his pamphlet about the Waldenses. I think I can shew, to the conviction of every impartial and competent reader, that it is such in point of argument, learning, and statement of facts, as that I not only could be under no temptation to run away from it, but that it was an act of forbearance to say so little about it.

* Sec. Lett. to Rose, p. 5, 7.

Reinerius Saccho.

THE first point attacked by Mr. King is my statement respecting Reinerius Saccho, which he calls "one of the most extraordinary webs of sophistry which was ever spun," (p. 7.) and of which in his second pamphlet he speaks in the following terms—

"I have no wish to force you into any premature discussion of the general controversy respecting the antiquity of the Waldenses. But was it of no importance that you should account for your strange inversion of the fourth and fifth chapters of Reinerius, in your argument respecting the modern date of the Waldenses? Yet you have not deigned to say a word upon the subject. I cannot but think that if you had been able to explain this part of your conduct, as satisfactorily as you have explained that which has been already noticed, you would not have left it in its present obscurity. For you cannot say this is a charge of little consequence, which 'may wait.' It is quite as incapable of being solved into mere ignorance, as that which you found it necessary most promptly to meet. If you could prove that Milner ever used any documents, as you appear to have used these two chapters, I have no hesitation in expressing my conviction, that you would have substantiated against him a heavier charge than any which you have alleged in your three pamphlets.

"This however is not all. Having tried, by one most unusual stratagem, to distort, what has generally been regarded as the plain meaning of the inquisitor's words: you have recourse to another, to *set aside his authority altogether*. And how is this to be accomplished, but by supposing him ignorant both of the time when Pope Sylvester lived, and of the very name of Peter Waldo! The singular infelicity of these conjectures, I have endeavoured to expose: and on your remark, that they are made 'only with a view to put the matter in its *right light*,' while you are fully

aware, that their tendency is to lessen the weight of a testimony, which, when properly examined, is decidedly in 'your favour,' I have made the following observation. 'Perhaps it would be difficult, in the whole history of authorship, to find another writer so transgressing the bounds of probability, for the self-denying purpose of weakening his own evidence!'^{*} This is the passage which has given you the occasion for the following tirade against me. 'You seem to me to have no idea of a man's writing on any controverted subject, except for victory, or for some purpose beside, or beyond, the establishment of truth. You break out into what is, I dare say, unfeigned astonishment, at the idea of a man's offering conjectures which have a tendency to lessen the weight of a testimony in favour of his own argument, merely for the sake of putting historical facts in a right light. The thing appears to you quite ridiculous, and furnishes matter for sneer and derision. But however foolish you may think a man who does not suppress what may weaken his argument, did you not know that you were writing mere falsehood—and as far as concerned the argument, or any thing else, but your own taste for personalities, perfectly gratuitous falsehood—when you represented me, or tried to make your readers believe, that I represented myself, as doing it for the purpose of weakening my own evidence?'[†]

"If it had not been for the sophistry contained in this passage, I would entirely have passed over it, because of its personal abuse. I am not careful to answer the charge it brings 'of *falsehood*,' of 'perfectly gratuitous falsehood,' originating in my 'own taste for personalities.' Words like these, are weapons which wound the hand that wields them, and leave uninjured the object of attack. I am exceedingly sorry that you have used them—for your *own* sake, not for mine; and I hope they have awakened in my mind no other feeling than that of compassion for their author. If I have ever asserted a wilful untruth respecting you, it will give me the greatest pleasure to retract and apologize for the assertion; but here after the closest examination of my language, and of your remarks upon it, I can find nothing bordering upon falsehood. For when I represent you as stating facts or conjectures, 'for the *purpose*' of weakening your own evidence, I may ask was not this a necessary, though a subordinate *purpose*—subordinate to what you stated as your great purpose, which is that of putting 'the matter

^{*} Maitland not authorized, &c. p. 14.

[†] Letter to King, p. 15.

in its right light?' If I had concealed the greater, and had put forth the less, as your *sole* purpose, then you would have had reason to complain. A purpose is an *end* at which a person aims. Paley distinguishes between the 'great end' and those less 'ends,' which ultimately lead to it; and I can say most truly, that I never thought of representing you, as wishing to subvert what you deemed testimony favourable to yourself, without a reference to your previously declared purpose of setting the matter in its 'right light.'*

"You contend, that this has nothing to do with 'the argument, or any thing else, but my own taste for personalities.' I think otherwise. The reduction of your argument about Reinerius to an absurdity, was intended to shew that it was based upon false premises. Surely I have a right to argue out those premises to their legitimate result, however absurd that result may be, without incurring the charge of indulging in personalities, or of uttering gratuitous falsehoods.

"But you have compelled me now, in explanation of the whole case, to say, that in this very passage, for which you lay against me such severe and unjust charges, I did not press the argument to its utmost limits. Instead of manifesting a taste for 'personalities,' I purposely avoided what must have been painful to your moral feelings, had I proceeded to put in juxtaposition, the different parts of your extraordinary argument. Nor would I now have done so, had it been possible to avoid it after your uncalled-for rebuke, and your most unsubstantial reasoning. At the same time, I wish distinctly to state, that though I cannot see how you should be able to account for the use you have made both of authorities and arguments, I do not say it is impossible. I only say it exceeds my comprehension. My difficulty lies here. Your treatment of the fourth and fifth chapters of Reinerius, appears to me an attempt to make him speak a language the reverse of what he intended. I can scarcely conceive it possible that any one should have read those chapters, and think that he regarded the

* I quote this long passage, some part of which is not exactly to my present purpose, and requires no reply, because I would avoid the suspicion of having omitted any part of it with unfair intention; and also that the reader may see how, in this second pamphlet, after ample time to correct the blunder of his first, Mr. King deliberately flounders about in the confusion which he has made. But I must give the words of his former pamphlet, to which he

Waldenses as a merely modern sect. In arguing on the point, you speak of 'this very fifth chapter,' in reference, not to any thing which that chapter contained, but in reference to matter which Faber had taken from the *fourth*. Now it is extremely difficult to suppose that this was an *involuntary* mistake. There is every appearance of design about it: yet, rather than accuse you of wilful tampering with records, I waive the difficulty, and resist the conclusion, to which appearances naturally lead. Yet, your closing observations only involve the question—intricate enough already—in deeper mystery. You first attempt in the most extraordinary way to get rid of the authority of Reinerius altogether; and then intimate, that though he would have been a most useful auxiliary, you are willing to lessen the weight of his testimony for the sake of putting "the matter in its right light." Now, sir, I ask, after such an argument, would not an enemy suspect that you had all along been distrustful of your ability to keep up the credit of Reinerius, and had therefore prepared for the worst, by sacrificing him at once? This, however, is not the view I take; I do not charge you, as you do me with gratuitous falsehood; but I believe there has been 'mistake' upon 'mistake,' till the colour of the whole transaction is such as you would yourself abhor. And to this I add, that some use must have been made of the doctrine of expediency, which you impute to others, and which you say you wish you understood yourself, I give you the amount of the impression which the fact has left upon my mind. You must, however, allow me to say, that when you have acted thus, you ought not to have been so forward as you are, in accusing others of hav-

here refers; those of mine, to which they relate, will be found in the Extract annexed to these remarks. "But why does Mr. Maitland hazard such conjectures? 'Only,' he assures us, 'with a view to put the matter in its *right light*.' 'I am fully aware, he adds, 'that their tendency is to lessen the weight of a testimony which, when properly examined, is decidedly in my favour.' Perhaps it would be difficult, in the whole history of authorship, to find another writer so far transgressing the bounds of probability, for the self-denying purpose of weakening the force of his own evidence!" p. 14. Mr. King may well be ashamed of this; and it is not surprising that the same jesuitism which talks of voluntary and wilful mistakes, should set up a quibble about "greater" and "less" purposes. But does he expect anybody to find in the "he assures us," in the note of admiration, in the tone of the whole passage, any proof—any possibility of believing—that he gave me any credit whatever for my "greater" purpose; and that he did not mean to hold up my "self-denying purpose" to the ridicule and contempt of his readers, as a mere pretence and falsehood?

ing 'no idea of writing on a controverted subject but for victory, or for some purpose beside, or beyond the truth.' 'How wilt thou say to thy brother, let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and behold a beam is in thine own eye?'

"Perhaps you will call this 'running away from the real question,' instead of meeting 'specific facts and references.' Yet allow me to suggest to you, that in this very argument, I am dealing with one of the specific charges of your letter. You accuse Milner of assigning to the Waldenses a higher antiquity than belonged to them; and out of this general charge arise all the mistakes on which I have animadverted. I know who has run away from the question and 'thrown stones' too."

I have already said that Mr. King is not in any danger of forcing me into a premature discussion of the general controversy respecting the antiquity of the Waldenses; and, as to what he calls running away, I further assure him that it seemed to me of "no importance" to account for my "strange inversion of the fourth and fifth chapters of Reinerius," because I never inverted them all; and do not at this moment exactly know what is meant by the terms of the accusation. Certainly it was not worth while to say a word about mere obvious mistake; nor would it be worth while to do so now, were it not that, misled by my silence, Mr. King indulges in language which, though very ridiculous to those who take the trouble to compare his statements with my book, does, nevertheless, require some exposure. I explained his charge respecting Mosheim, because I did not see how people were to find out the truth, without being made aware that my defence rested on a defect in a particular (and, as I then supposed, a single) edition of Mosheim, of the existence of which they might never have heard; but as to Reinerius Saccho, I do repeat, for I am prepared to shew, that the charge was one of little consequence which might wait; and, for the sake of truth, it is perhaps well that it has waited until it has received Mr. King's deliberate sanction, and formal repetition, so that there can scarcely now be misunder-

standing on my part, or evasion on his. It was of little consequence, because there was my book to refute it, and I have very little hope (and, to say the truth, very little anxiety) to convince those who, through party or prejudice, or ignorance, or carelessness of truth, are willing to receive whatever he may tell them without examination.

That which Mr. King calls “a web of sophistry” being reprinted entire in the Extract, I offer the following remarks with one general reference and appeal to it;—

Reinerius Saccho, in his *fourth* chapter, stated that the Waldenses were more ancient (diuturnior) than any other sect.

One modern writer, after another, quoted this *fourth* chapter in proof of the antiquity of the Waldenses.

They not only quoted this statement, but they argued from it, in most positive and triumphant terms, that the Waldenses *could not* have sprung from *Peter Waldo*; because, if they had, Reinerius, who had lived only about ninety years after the time of Waldo, could not but have known that fact; and, knowing that fact, could not possibly have talked as he did in his *fourth* chapter about their antiquity.

To satisfy my own mind I turned to the work of Reinerius; and having read the *fourth* chapter so frequently quoted, and referred to, my eye was caught by the title and beginning of the *fifth* chapter; and I perceived that, whatever Reinerius might have said of the Waldenses in the *fourth*, he, in the *fifth* chapter, (to borrow Mr. King's words) “expressly treats of them as of a *modern* sect.” p. 8. In fact he unequivocally states, that they owed their origin to a Citizen of Lyons, by whom nobody denies that he meant *Peter Waldo*. When I read this *fifth* chapter I was unfeignedly astonished; and at a loss to account for the conduct of those writers who had gone on quoting and arguing from the *fourth* chapter, without saying one word about the

fifth. It seemed charitable to suppose that they could not have seen it; but, as in the Bibliotheca Patrum, the very brief *fourth* chapter of Reinerius occupied only half the first column of a page, the remainder of which was filled with the fifth chapter,* it appeared to me that it would be mere hypocrisy to pretend to believe that any man could actually read that *fourth* chapter, without seeing, at least, the *title* of the *fifth* chapter, (De sectis modernorum hæreticorum) and also the *subject* of it, which was plainly announced in the very first lines to be *the origin* of the Leonists.

Of all the modern writers whom I had seen, Allix was the only one who gave the least hint that Reinerius (notwithstanding his “diuturnior” in his *fourth* chapter) went on to derive the Leonists from Peter Waldo in his *fifth*; and Allix makes that admission only incidentally, and in so strange a way, that a reader might easily pass it over without observation, and I really believe that most persons have done so. Reinerius had not been mentioned for several pages, and a new chapter had commenced; and, in the formal attack on the Bishop of Meaux’s account of the origin of the Waldenses, the readers of Allix might easily pass over the words, “he pretends they owe their rise solely to Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, wherein he follows Raynerus, cap. 5,”—they might easily pass over these words, without reflecting that this was the first time that they had received any hint of the existence of this “cap. 5,” or recollecting how far this account of its contents might seem to be inconsistent with what had been, some pages before, produced from “cap. 4.” In fact, unless some such inadvertence happened to Mr. King, there is something very odd in his *twice* (p. 6 and 12) omitting this “cap. 5” when professing to quote these words of

* I believe it is the same in all the editions. It is so in that of 1644 to which I referred, and it is in that of 1624 which Morland specifies.

Allix from my book, and then going on to tell me (as if, instead of being the very point on which I had attacked Allix, it was a piece of news, and convicted me of error) that Mr. Faber quoted from the *fourth* chapter, and that Allix was here referring to the *fifth*. Mr. King represents me, in what I have said of Allix, as supposing "that the learned doctor "has put himself between the horns of a dilemma, in having "first produced Reinerius to prove that the sect of Leonists "was more ancient than Waldo, and then saying of the "Bishop of Meaux, 'He pretends they owe their rise solely "to Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, *wherein he follows "Raynerus.*' But it is plain that Allix speaks of a mere "pretence on the part of Bossuet, and asserts that in this "pretence he was following the inquisitor. The truth on "which Dr. Allix relied, is contained in the fourth chapter "of Reinerius, the pretence which he censured Bossuet for "adopting, is contained in the fifth." (p. 11.) But what does it matter whether this or that was truth or pretence? the only point is, that, by speaking thus, Allix shewed that he was acquainted with this "cap. 5," and knew that to deduce the Waldenses from Peter Waldo, was (truth or pretence) to follow Raynerus. Most persons will suspect from Mr. King's twice omitting this "cap. 5," either that he did not understand the very point of the question, or else that he wished to conceal for Allix, or at least to render less obvious, that truth which the "learned doctor" had inadvertently permitted to slip out.

My argument being directed, however, more particularly against the statements of Mr. Faber, who, like other writers, had appealed to the *fourth* chapter to prove the antiquity of the Waldenses, without giving the least hint that Reinerius, in his *fifth* chapter or any where else, derived those Waldenses from Peter Waldo, and who had indulged in the same triumphant strain of argument as his predecessors, I thought

it was only due to him to suppose that he had borrowed what he quoted of the *fourth* chapter from some preceeding writer, and was not aware of what was contained in the *fifth*. The only obstacle to this inference arose from the fact, that *in another place** Mr. Faber gives a *general reference* to both the *fourth* and *fifth* chapters of Reinerius, which reference, strictly taken, would seem to imply that he knew *both* those chapters, and all that they contained. Still, I should have thought that I dealt hardly (though not, in strict terms, unfairly) with Mr. Faber if I had made him responsible for the full extent of this *reference*; and, therefore, suggested (what I believed to be the truth) that he had copied the *quotation* from the *fourth* chapter, on which he so triumphantly relied to establish the antiquity of the Waldenses, from some other writer; and had, in like manner, copied the general *reference* which he made “at p. 36,”—a part of his book not under discussion, from which I did not extract a word, and on which I offered no other remark than that it did contain this reference to “Reiner. cont. hæret. c. iv, v.” The difference in one respect is obvious. If a writer *quotes* a passage, whether from the original or at second-hand, we must suppose him to know its purport; but he may borrow a *reference* without being at all acquainted with the matter referred to. Mr. Faber of course knew the contents of the *fourth* chapter; but I suggested (and I expect to convince every candid reader) that he did not know the contents of the *fifth*, to which he only gave a general *reference*. Mr. King says that my “inference, that Mr. Faber had never seen a book, which he twice quotes without acknowledging the references to be borrowed, is somewhat amusing.” (p. 10.) It may be very droll; but the humour was quite accidental, and unintended. I merely meant to utter in simplicity what charity

* Namely, “at p. 36,” as I stated—though, in quoting my words, Mr. King omits “at p. 36” just as he does the “cap. 5” of Allix.

suggested; and to frame for Mr. Faber an excuse which I *now* have *no* doubt that he needed. How far Mr. King's raising the question, and pressing so fiercely for its discussion, may amuse Mr. Faber, is another matter.

This is, I believe, the truth respecting Reinerius. If Mr. King can make out of it a "web of sophistry," let him do so. His three-fold omission of the words, "at p. 36," and "cap. 5," will convince most people—all who give him credit for any degree of sincerity—that he really did not see the drift of my statements respecting Reinerius. This is, indeed, evident from his telling his readers that I proceed to trace what I deem "*a mistaken quotation* from Reinerius." p. 4. He affixes a meaning to the word *mistake* such as I never before heard of, and may have more meanings in store; but no ingenuity, or anything else, will persuade readers of any reflection that he really understood the process which he described in such terms. If farther proof were wanting, it is furnished by that which follows. In unravelling my "web of sophistry," and affecting to put his readers in possession of the case, he says—

"The reader will observe, that Mr. Faber had referred both to the fourth and fifth chapters of Reinerius; why then does Mr. Maitland reason from the title of the fifth, entirely overlooking the title of the fourth? When he says, '*this very* fifth chapter,' the reader naturally supposes, that he is producing precisely the chapter in which Mr. Faber's quotation had stood; and certainly it looks extraordinary that the learned Interpreter of prophecy should have sought evidence for the antiquity of the Waldenses, in a chapter which expressly treats of them as of a modern sect. But what is the fact? The title of the *fourth* chapter, from which Mr. Faber really takes his quotation, is 'DE SECTIS ANTIQUORUM HERETICORUM.'—'On the sects of the ANCIENT heretics;' as may be seen by referring to the authorities in Mr. Maitland's volume" &c. p. 8.

If this is unravelling sophistry—if it is not rather the floundering, which generally takes place when men affect to

criticise what they have not taken the pains to understand—I am much mistaken. After what I have said, it perhaps requires but little answer, except a mere reference to the Extract; but I may add the following remarks:

1. Having omitted, “at p. 36,” in his extract of my words, Mr. King here represented to his readers, and I have no doubt believed himself, that I charged Mr. Faber with quoting both the fourth and fifth chapters of Reinerius, for the same purpose—that is, to prove the antiquity of the Waldenses. It is, I trust, quite obvious that I did no such thing. So far was I from doubting that Mr. Faber “really” took his *quotation* from the *fourth* chapter, that I expressed my belief that he did not even know what was contained in the *fifth*. But though I never supposed that he referred to the *fifth* chapter at all, *in those pages which I cited as containing his argument for the antiquity of the Waldenses*, yet I did say, that at *another page*—“at p. 36”—of his book, he referred to “Reiner. cont. hæret. c. iv, v.” This would have seemed as if he knew the contents of the chapter, and the charge against him (if it can be so called, for the real charge, and my real belief was, and is, that he copied this general reference, without being acquainted with the fifth chapter) was, not that he referred to the fifth chapter to prove the antiquity of the Waldenses, but that, though owing to a reference, he might be suspected of knowing its contents, yet he did not inform his readers that Reinerius therein, (as Mr. King confesses) “expressly treats of them as of a modern sect.” No hint of this, that I have seen, has ever been given by Mr. Faber.

2. “When he says, ‘*this very fifth chapter*,’ the reader “naturally supposes, that he is producing precisely the chapter in which Mr. Faber’s *quotation* had stood.” What? when the obvious drift of the passage is to express my astonishment that Mr. Faber had *quoted* the fourth chapter, and

so passed over the fifth, that I should not have had the least ground to suppose that he knew that there was a fifth chapter, if it had not been for a general *reference* to it in another part of his book which was not under discussion? I think the reader, who “naturally supposes” this must be very dull. But Mr. King returns to it, and in the passage from his second pamphlet which I have already quoted, says, “You speak of ‘this very fifth chapter’ in reference, not to anything which that chapter contained, but in reference to matter which Faber had taken from the *fourth*.” What Mr. King means by this, I am not sure that I know; but how far the expression “this very fifth chapter” related to what was contained in it, or in the fourth, the reader may easily see by the Extract. Only I beg him to remark, that “Reiner. cont. hæret. c. iv, v.” is in inverted commas, which Mr. King has been pleased, among many other slight alterations of my text, to omit. The omission may have been unintentional, and with his obvious misapprehension of the matter, I dare say it was so; and it may seem trifling, but it is important as explaining the expression “*so* quoted by Mr. Faber”—by which I meant, quoted in the terms of general reference, and in the form just given as a quotation from his book.

3. Mr. King asks, why I reason from the title of one chapter and overlook the other? The plain answer, obvious to every one who sees what I was reasoning about, and how I reasoned, is, that I did not reason upon either title at all. I thought that the eye of a man reading the short fourth chapter in the edition to which Morland refers, must be caught by the *title* of the fifth, and led to look at the *first sentence*; and I think so still; but from the title itself I have argued nothing. Yet, if I had done so, Mr. King fully admits that the *title* speaks the same language as the body of the chapter in which Reinerius expressly treats of the Waldenses as of a modern sect.

Conjectures respecting Reinerius Saccho.

AT page 13 Mr. King accuses me of some "marvellous conjectures" respecting Reinerius; and this charge he repeats and amplifies in a passage of his second pamphlet which I have just quoted.*

As to my *first* attempting to get rid of the credit of Reinerius altogether, because I had been all along distrustful of my ability to keep up his credit, I really know not what it means; and, as far as I understand the charge, it seems too absurd to admit of any distinct reply. Appealing, as before, to what I actually said, and now reprint in the Extract, I venture to say that the case was simply this—Mr. Faber says, boldly and outright, that Reinerius, *having been* once himself a Vallensian, *must* have known to a certainty "whether that sect sprung from Waldo." I venture to say, as decidedly, that Reinerius was *not* a Waldensian, but a member of a perfectly distinct sect. It is very well for modern writers, when nineteen-twentieths of their readers receive such statements on their authority without enquiry, to say "Reinerius was a Leonist, that is a Catharist, they were all one sect under different names;" but neither Reinerius nor, as far as I know, any ancient writer ever dreamed that the Leonists or Waldenses were the same as, or even like, the Cathari. And it is to this latter sect that Reinerius expressly states that he belonged for seventeen years. I have said, therefore, that as to the Waldenses, to whom he did *not* belong, I do not see why Reinerius was likely to be a particularly good wit-

* See p. 12, before.

ness ; that as to the Cathari, to whom he *did* belong, his testimony is very important. I see nothing very “extraordinary” in this common place remark, the truth of which must surely be obvious to every reasonable man ; nor do I know what it is that Mr. King calls an “unusual stratagem,” any more than I can imagine the ground on which he says that I use that stratagem, “*to set aside his authority altogether.*” Let any reader look at what I have said of Reinerius, and add to it the consideration, that I took the trouble to translate the whole of his third, fourth, and fifth chapters, and to print them with the original. Did this look like a wish to set aside his authority ? or what did I do that looked like contradicting my own declaration that I considered him a “most valuable witness ?” Mr. King tells me that I did so by “supposing him ignorant both of the “time when Pope Sylvester “lived, and of the very name of Peter Waldo !” Well, but a man might be ignorant of these things, and yet be a very competent witness as to a heretical sect which had nothing to do with either Pope Sylvester or Peter Waldo. Whether the Cathari ever said anything of Sylvester may be doubted. If they did, Reinerius seems not to have known it ; which is in itself some proof that they did not. But he adds, “the “singular infelicity of these conjectures I have endeavoured “to expose.” He has, indeed—but I am quite convinced that, to every man who knows anything of the subject, his own conjectures will appear still more infelicitous.

Mr. King offers two explanations of the apparent inconsistency in Reinerius—First, that “he might have reasons “for representing them as modern, which he would be “ashamed to avow : he could have none for calling them “*ancient*, but a conviction that he was speaking the truth.” I really know not how to form the idea of such a person as Mr. King’s Reinerius. He tells us, according to Mr. King’s account, on the very same page, that the Leonists were an

ancient sect, and a *modern* sect—he could have no reason for saying the former, but the conviction that he was speaking truth; and yet this conscientious Inquisitor, who could not speak against his conviction, or even hold his tongue, through the invincible force of truth, in the *fourth* chapter, had not written five-and-twenty lines before he shook hands with shame, and deliberately and circumstantially wrote what he knew to be a barefaced self-contradictory lie, for reasons “which he would be ashamed to avow.” Can Mr. King seriously ask us to believe this? He adds, however, “If he “meant in the fifth chapter to qualify what he had said in “the fourth, and to make his book acceptable to those for “whom it was written, he acted with unworthy and short-sighted policy.” Most people I believe would think so; and agree with Mr. King, that “perhaps it is needless to have recourse to such an explanation;” because they will find it hard to conceive a man (especially as Mr. King tells them, a “most learned theologian, not amiss in Aristotle, and somewhat versant in canonical law,”) writing a book for readers to whom it could be rendered acceptable by such gross contradictions, on such an important point, in such immediate juxta-position. What then is the other explanation? It is that by “*tali modo orta est*”, Reinerius meant that the sect had been “revived, and its influence extended” under Peter Waldo. Such a desperate attempt to deny the plain meaning of a common latin word, requires no comment. Such things are out of the bounds of argument.*

Let me, however, here add a few words on my own suggestions, which Mr. King considers so infelicitous, and on

* Since this was written, I see that Mr. Faber sets up the same evasion. What can be a plainer proof of discomfiture than such reckless proceeding? The reader will recollect that the question is not whether there was in fact any revival or extension of an already existing sect in the time of Peter Waldo,

his mode of dealing with them. There is no need to copy my words as they are printed at length in the Extract. I suggested that “diuturnior” appeared, from the language used by Reinerius elsewhere, not to mean all that some persons would desire. This, at p. 12, Mr. King calls an “amplification of the absurdity already exposed,” and I suppose he means that he had exposed it when, at p. 8, he said—

“The title of the *fourth* chapter, from which Mr. Faber really takes his quotation, is ‘DE SECTIS ANTIQUORUM HÆRETICORUM’—‘On the sects of the ANCIENT heretics;’ as may be seen by referring to the authorities in Mr. Maitland’s volume, of which the following translation is in his own words. ‘In the fourth place, observe, that there have been more than seventy sects of heretics, which, by the grace of God are all destroyed except the sects of the Manichæans, Arians, Runcarii, and Leonists, which have infected Germany. Among all these sects, which still are, or have been, none is more pernicious to the church [of God]* than the the Leonists; and this for three reasons. The first is, because it is *older*,’ &c. Older, be it observed, not as Mr. Maitland asserts, than the other *modern* sects merely; but older than the ancient sects, with which it is classed,—than the Manichæans, the Arians, &c. This the reasoning of the Inquisitor implies.”

No doubt it implies that the writer meant to ascribe to the Leonists a greater age than to the other sects with whom he mentioned them; but who does not know that the Albigenes were commonly called Manicheans and Arians in his time? and, if by those names Reinerius did not mean *them*, I do not see that he acknowledges the existence of the Cathari, or any of the sects of whom he afterwards speaks *as then existing*. For, as I have already said, whatever mo-

(not that I know of any pretence for making a question about that,) but the question with both Mr. Faber and Mr. King is, what *Reinerius meant* to say—not whether he mistook a revival (if there was one) for an origination, but whether *he meant to express* revival or origination by “*orta est*.”

* Why, after particularly stating that the translation is in my “*own words*,” does Mr. King insert these words which are not in my translation?

dern writers may do, he does not confound the Cathari and the Leonists; and he makes the Cathari, Manicheans. That he did mean *them* can, I think, admit of no doubt in the mind of any man who has looked at the writers of that period; and it is confirmed by the “*Summa Fratris Renerii*,” which is obviously an abridgement or extract from the work published by Gretser. In the *Summa*, as I have elsewhere shewn,* the passage which stands in Gretser’s text, “*Sectæ hæreticorum fuerunt plures, quam LXX. quæ omnes per Dei gratiam deletæ sunt, præter sectas Manichæorum Arianorum, Runcariorum, et Leonistarum,*”† reads thus: “*Cum sectæ hæreticorum olim fuerint multæ, quæ omnino fere destructæ sunt per gratiam Jesu Christi, tamen duæ principales modo inveniuntur, quarum altera vocatur Cathari, sive Paterini; altera Leonistæ, seu Pauperes de Lugduno.*” Be this as it may, however, why does Mr. King say, “older than the ancient sects, with which it is classed,—than the Manicheans, the Arians, &c.” Why did he cut the sentence short with an “&c”? I give him credit for not knowing that the one single word which he thus saved himself the trouble of writing would have shewn that his argument was good for nothing. I am willing to believe that it was in pure ignorance that he omitted the *Runcarii*, who are expressly stated by Reinerius to have been *novelli*, in a passage which I quoted on the very page which contains what he calls the “amplification of my absurdity.” “*Auctores hæresum sunt novelli, sicut Ortlibenses, Runcarii et cæteri.*”‡

As to my other suggestion, that Renerius, *not* “having been himself a Vallensian,” was probably but imperfectly acquainted with the history of the Waldenses, and that when he reported the extravagant assertion of some persons

* Facts and Doc. p. 531.

† Ib. p. 527.

‡ Ib. p. 34.

(*aliqui*, whom he does not name) who carried up the antiquity of the sect to the days of Pope Sylvester, he did it "in pure ignorance of the time when that Pope lived;" and that, though he evidently (as Mr. King acknowledges) referred to Peter Waldo, yet "he does not seem to have known either his name or his date." These, Mr. King says, are marvellous conjectures. He assumes that Reinerius was the "Italian Inquisitor General," and that he was not only obliged to read his Breviary, but actually did read and understand it. I am afraid that this may be more than can be safely assumed of all the preaching friars of the thirteenth century; and that, if we could prove this, it would not be safe to assume that they would all learn, of necessity, from the Breviary, when Pope Sylvester lived. But, as to his being an Italian Inquisitor General, or even an Italian, or an Inquisitor, at all, the matter seems to have been taken up on very slight and insufficient grounds. Antonius Senensis tells us that there was a Reinerius Saccho of Placentia, who was an Inquisitor General, and this writer tells us that his own name was Rinherus, that he was a Dominican Friar, and that he had frequently been present at the examination of heretics. So far there is some colour, though it seems not very natural for an Inquisitor General to refer to his office merely by saying, that he had frequently been present on such occasions. Any Dominican Friar was likely to have been present, and Reinerius, who had been a heretic seventeen years, and a leader of his sect, might well have been present at an examination, as a prisoner or a witness, before he was even a friar. But it is not only the way in which he mentions it, but the connexion—"Inquisitioni et examinationi hæreticorum frequenter interfui, et computatæ sunt scholæ hæreticorum in Diocesi Pataviensi XLI." This is, I believe, all that he says about being present at the examination of heretics, and, if it leads us to suppose (as perhaps it

should) that he was an Inquisitor of some sort, surely we must doubt whether he was the *Italian* Inquisitor of Antonius Senensis. It seems as if he meant that he had been present at examinations in the Diocese of Passau; but what had an Italian Inquisitor to do in Germany? How comes it that he gives details respecting that diocese more particularly than any other, that he speaks first and most particularly, in this fourth chapter with which we have already had so much to do, of the heretics who had infested *Germany*, and that he represents the heretics as talking German, and translating the Scriptures into that language? Can this be the *Italian* Inquisitor?

But, even if it were, I do not see that it is quite absurd to suppose that he might be very ignorant of the origin of the sects into whose doctrine (not their history) it was his business to enquire. Mr. King will not deny that Eymericus was an Inquisitor General, more than a century after the time of Reinerius Saccho; or, that he wrote a Directory for the use of Inquisitors; but yet, if we may trust Allix, “this good Inquisitor, as we see by this,” [that is, by his telling his readers that Manes lived at Milan in the time of Pope Innocent the Third] “was not over well acquainted with church history.”*

I believe that I have now replied, perhaps at more length than was necessary, to all Mr. King’s charges and insinuations respecting Reinerius, except one which I proceed to notice as briefly as I can, and respecting which I here give his words at length:—

“The force of the Archbishop’s reasoning on the question in controversy not easily to be resisted or evaded. Gretser thought he had rescued the testimony of Reinerius from the grasp of Protestants, by representing the Inquisitor as having delivered not his own opinion, but that of others, when he spoke of

* Ch. of Pied. p. 146.

the Leonists as tracing their descent from the times of Sylvester or of the apostles. Usher leaves this sophistical evasion to grapple with a more distinct and palpable argument; and rests his cause on the simple assertion from the lips of a well-informed adversary, that this sect had the precedence in time of all others, ancient as well as modern. He little thought that any future controversialist would arise, who, instead of being content like the wary Jesuit, simply to set aside and to neutralize the testimony of the Inquisitor, should have the courage to bring him forward, in the face of his own express declaration, as an evidence in favour of the recent origin of the Leonists. Still less could he foresee, that any one would argue from the title of the fifth chapter, as if it had actually belonged to the fourth. If Mr. Maitland can produce from Milner an instance of abuse of documents equally palpable, and equally inexplicable, it will then be time for the friends of that historian to look round for some writer more worthy of their confidence." (p. 10.)

Mr. King may sneer at my defending a Jesuit, as he does at my expressing disgust at falsehood directed against an Inquisitor, but every body will see that there was no sophistical evasion in Gretser's saying that Du Plessis had no right to cite Reinerius as deciding for the fictitious antiquity for which he was himself contending. The vouchers for that were the "aliqui" quoted by Reinerius, and not Reinerius himself; and this Ussher grants, "nam ut hoc demus." The whole evidence of Reinerius himself lies in the word "diuturnior;" and the charge of sophistical evasion rests, of course, on the meaning which Gretser really affixed in his own mind to that word. Those who pick the word out of its connexion, and print it in capitals, may pretend that it means what they please; but Gretser knew that this *diuturnior* followed close upon some *novelli*, and that, within a few lines of that word, Reinerius had given a circumstantial account of the *origin*—for, I think we may assume that Gretser did not translate *orta est*, by "was revived" or "extended"—of the sect from the citizen of Lyons.

Mr. Faber's reference to Reinerius, cap. v.

I conceive that the foregoing pages contain a sufficient reply to Mr. Faber's Supplement, entitled "Reinerius and Maitland;" and fully shew how he has been misled by Mr. King. His perseverance in the mistake, however, is not for want of my having endeavoured to undeceive him. On the same day that I received the letter, from which I found him to be under the false impression, produced by reading Mr. King's pamphlet, I wrote to him by the post what I really supposed would have been a sufficient explanation. As he had stated that I charged him with referring to the fourth and *fifth* chapters, "*for the avowed purpose* of establishing, "by virtue of such reference, the high *antiquity* of the Albigenes and Vallenses," I assured him that I had "no idea of having said any such thing," and that, it appeared so inconsistent with what I really did say, that, on anything less than his positive assertion, I should say it could not be. This I said, because I was anxious not to lose a post, and did not chuse to pledge myself, from mere memory, that there certainly was no error or mistake in my book which might give colour to a charge so positively made. Mr. King's pamphlet I had mislaid; and, indeed, I felt so confident, that an appeal to my book (which, he stated, that he had not seen) would at once convince Mr. Faber of his error, that I did not think it worth while to lose time in hunting for the grounds of a mistake which appeared so obvious. I added, however, with reference to the book, "should you "find in it what you state, it shall have my best attention;

“and, if it is your wish that I should publicly state that, *on your assurance, that you quoted from the original work*, I believe you, and withdraw the suggestion of a possibility that you borrowed the reference, I repeat that I am quite willing to do it.” I had before said, “I do not conceive that my supposing you to have copied a reference, without verifying it, warrants all the harsh language in which you have indulged; but, as I quite sympathize with your indignation against a practice which goes to destroy all confidence in citations, I shall be very happy publicly to state that *you assured me that I was wrong, and that your quotations were from the original work.*” This assurance, however, Mr. Faber did not chuse to give in the angry letter which he returned; and now, though he talks about “gratuitous slander,” he does not meet my suggestion by a plain denial. He does not say “my reference to the fifth chapter of Reinerius was *not* borrowed”—but having, in his answer to my letter, affected to consider me as making an unconditional offer to acknowledge that I was mistaken in supposing that he borrowed the reference, he now, in his Supplement says, “Upon Mr. Maitland’s coarse allegation, that I could never have read an author whose Work, through all its ten chapters, I happen *to have perused* from beginning to end, I do not think it necessary to make any further remarks.” Why does Mr. Faber say *have*, when *had* is the word which every body must have been looking for? That he *has* read the fourth and fifth chapters of Reinerius I have no doubt; but *had* he read them when he wrote the passages in question, more than eight years ago? Was he acquainted with the *fifth* chapter, when he wrote the triumphant statement—that Reinerius must have known whether the Leonists sprang from Peter Waldo, and could not possibly have talked as he did of their antiquity if he had believed in any such origin? Mr. Faber forces me to go farther into this question by pro-

ceeding to say:—"Perhaps it may be proper to subjoin: "that, through the medium of a private correspondence, the "option of *himself* retracting the slander, as publicly as he "had vented it, was freely given to Mr. Maitland. The "appearance of this Supplement will shew, that the offer "was refused"—that is to say, Mr. Faber would have had me retract two charges: one of them, a charge which I never thought of making; and the other, a charge which he has not yet explicitly denied, and which I still believe to be true. The one, as to his *purpose* in referring to the fifth chapter of Reinerius, and the other, as to his having *borrowed* that reference at second hand without knowing the contents of the chapter. Of course (even if Mr. Faber's letter had been in a style which would have permitted an answer) I could not have agreed to the terms on which he was to be pacified; and, notwithstanding his anger and great words, I really had sufficient reliance on his candour to believe that he would look at my book, and felt confident that, when he did, he would see that he had been misled by the interference of an officious advocate, and feel glad that, when on the very brink of the press, he had been prevented from exposing himself. "The appearance of this Supplement will shew," however, that I was mistaken; and it imperatively calls on me to offer the following remarks.

As to Mr. Faber's *purpose* in referring to the fifth chapter of Reinerius, I hope the reader is convinced that I have hitherto said nothing about it; but it now becomes necessary that I should state what will, I think, shew that I was not making a "groundless attack" on Mr. Faber, or venting "slander" against him. Let us take his own statement just published, with his own italics and capitals. He says in his Supplement, that the reference to the fourth and fifth chapters of Reinerius was "made NOT for the purpose of establishing the *antiquity* of the Leonists, (as my assailant has

“thought fit to misrepresent the matter), BUT for the totally
 “different purpose of shewing *the sentiments of the Leonists*
 “*respecting the Church of Rome.*”

Let us then turn to the passage “at p. 36,” of the third volume of the Sacred Calendar. The reference in question stands at the foot of the page with four others, being referred to by a figure in the usual way; and all the words between that figure of reference and the figure of reference which precedes it and refers to the preceding note, are as follows:—

“Agreeably to such an opinion, they contended, that the cross, that is to say, the superstitious and idolatrous use of the cross, is the mark of the apocalyptic wild-beast and the abomination standing in the holy place: and they additionally maintained, that Sylvester was the Antichrist, the son of perdition, who is foretold in the Epistles of St. Paul as extolling himself above every thing that is called God.”*

* “Reiner. cont. hæret. c. iv, v. Pilichdorf. cont. Valdens. c. iv. p. 779. Fragment. Pilich. p. 815, 816. Seissel. Tract. adv. Vald. fol. 5, cited by Bossuet. Script. Vetust. apud d'Acher. Spic. vol. xiii. cited by Allix.”

The reader might probably expect that if he were to go to the fourth and fifth chapters of Reinerius, and to the specified pages of Pilichdorf, of the anonymous Fragment attributed to him, or to Seyssel as cited by Bossuet, he should find authority for stating that “the sentiments of the Leonists” were such as are ascribed to them in the passage of Mr. Faber’s text just extracted. I apprehend, however, that he would not find in any one of them, or in any part of the works of the several writers, any such authority whatever. If those authors, either at the pages cited, or anywhere else, say anything about anybody’s imagining the cross, or any use of the cross, to be the mark of the beast, or the abomination standing in the holy place, or anything about the mark of the beast, or the beast, or the abomination, at all; I shall be glad to have the passages produced. In the meantime, (though I get very little encouragement to

frame excuses for Mr. Faber) I shall venture to say that I do not believe him guilty of intending so to deceive his readers; but that, in point of fact, he put his string of references in the wrong place; and that only the fifth reference (*Script. vetust. &c.* of which I will speak presently) gives any colour to the misapplied words in the text which I have extracted, while the other four references should have been appended to that part of the text which precedes:—

“The constant doctrine, both of themselves and of their successors, was; that *the true Church of Christ no longer existed in the persons of Pope Sylvester and his adherents*, but that *from his time or from the earlier part of the fourth century the genuine succession of the sincere Church (against which Christ had promised that the gates of hell should never prevail) had been preserved only among themselves.*” p. 34, 35.

I do not know that the four references in question would quite bear out all that Mr. Faber here says; but, they would be at any rate much more in place than where they are. In fact, these very same references are all four given by Bossuet, in just the same order, as authorities for a statement very like Mr. Faber's, in the 124th section of his *Histoire des Variations*; which section is particularly referred to by Mr. Faber on this same “p. 36;” and indeed I believe it is the only place in which the “fol. 5” of Seyssel is “cited by Bossuet.”

“Et enfin ces nouveaux docteurs, dont les Calvinistes prennent leur suite, d'où venoient-ils eux-mêmes, et qui les avoit envoyés? Embarrassés de cette demande aussi bien que les Protestans, comme eux ils se cherchoient des prédécesseurs: et voici la fable dont ils se payoient. On leur disoit que du temps de Saint Silvestre, lorsque Constantin donna du bien aux Eglises, ‘un des compagnons de ce Pape n’y voulut pas consentir, et se retira de sa communion en demeurant avec ceux qui le suivirent dans la voie de la pauvreté; qu’alors donc l’Eglise avoit défailli dans Silvestre et ses adhérens, et qu’elle étoit demeurée parmi eux.’* Qu’on ne dise

* Ren. *ibid.* c. 4, 5. p. 749. Pylicd. c. 4. p. 779. Frag. Pylicd. 815, 816, etc.

point que c'est ici une calomnie des ennemies des Vaudois ; car nous avons vu que les auteurs qui le rapportent unanimement n'avoient point eu dessein de les calomnier. La fable duroit encore du temps de Séyssel. On disoit encore au vulgaire, que 'cette secte avoit pris son commencement d'un certain Léon, homme tres-religieux, du temps de Constantin le Grand, qui détestant l'avarice de Silvestre, et l'excessive largesse de Constantin, aima mieux suivre la pauvreté et la simplicité de la foi, que d'être avec Silvestre souillé d'un gras et riche bénéfice ; auquel se seroient joints tous ceux qui sentoient bien de la foi.'* On avoit persuadé á ces ignorans que c'étoit de ce faux Léon que la secte des Léonistes avoit pris son nom et sa naissance." *Tom ii. p. 180.*

* Seyss. f. 5.

I do not wish to say anything which can be called "slander," or even "coarse allegation;" but I would rather expose myself to the charge of both, than to that of insinuating anything which I would not venture explicitly to state. I must therefore say, that I believe Mr. Faber to have copied these references, either mediately or immediately, from this section of Bossuet, which he professes to have had before his eyes at the time, without verifying them. I think I have shewn some ground for this opinion; and in further support of it, I beg the reader to observe, that both Mr. Faber and Bossuet cite the *fourth* chapter of Pilichdorf, and refer for it to "p. 779." Now the "4" in Bossuet is clearly a misprint. *He* evidently meant to quote the *first* chapter of Pilichdorf, which begins on the 779th and runs over into the 780th page (or, properly speaking, column) of the Bibliotheca Patrum, from which he had before told us that he was quoting. In fact he had twice before quoted the "c. i." as at "p. 780," and, should it happen that I have not (as I believe I have, for all his references that I have verified, except one other obvious misprint, tally with it) the edition which Bossuet used, yet we can scarcely suppose him to have had one in which the fourth chapter preceded the first. Add to this that the fourth chapter has not a word about Sylvester or

anything to Bossuet's purpose, as may be seen by the note below where I give the whole of it.* Of course it is no more to Mr. Faber's purpose than it was to Bossuet's, and I feel it—in the absence of his explicit denial—impossible to doubt that his citation of it proceeded from his borrowing these references without verification.

As to the fifth reference, (Script. Vetust. apud D'Acher. which is in fact to the treatise which is said to have been compiled from the Confessions of Bonacursus, and which is cited by Allix in his book on the Churches of Piedmont)† it is not necessary to our immediate purpose that I should say anything; but, as I have admitted that it does give colour to the statement in the text, I must add that this colour is merely verbal and entirely fallacious; and that this writer gives no more real authority than the others. In fact, the reference to his work is, if possible, more irrelevant and unjustifiable than the reference to either of them. The tract, whatever its real value may be, can be no authority whatever as to "the sentiments of the Leonists," for it has no reference to them. It is expressly stated to be directed against the *Cathari*.‡ That these sects were, in the writ-

* "Ideo eadem fides, quæ præfigurata est in Patriarchis, prænunciata in Prophetis, prædicata a Christo et discipulis, hodie, et in ævum, prædicatur ab Ecclesiæ doctoribus et prædicatoribus. Unde concludendum, quod unica est fides catholica omnium electorum DEI, et non est alia, quæ scilicet mansura est, usque ad finem sæculi, ubi fide evacuatur, videbitur DEUS *Deorum in Sion* ab electis facie ad faciem. Luc. xxii. Dicit Dominus Petro; *Ego autem rogavi pro te Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua.* Et Luc. i. *Et Regni ejus, scilicet Christi, non erit finis.* Et Dan. iv. *Potestas ejus potestas semperpiterna, et regnum ejus in generationem et generationem.*"

† Oxf. ed. p. 169. Old ed. p. 154.

‡ It begins, "Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui ecclesiam suam semper et ubique protegit et gubernat, atque fidem catholicam confirmat et conservat, errores illorum qui *Cathari* vocantur, manifestare et aperire per suam sanctam misericordiam volens; quemdam Episcopum doctorem, Bonacursum nomine, misericorditer gratia sancti Spiritus illuminavit," &c. The author then proceeds to detail the sentiments of that sect, and, within twenty lines of the passage referred to by Mr. Faber, he adds, "Ecce talis est hæresis Catharorum," &c. *Dach. Spicil. fol. ed. I. 208, 209.*

ings of all the best ancient authorities, represented as distinct, and very different, cannot, I think, be disputed. If, however, in the face of antiquity and authority, Mr. Faber and other modern writers chuse to assume that these sects were one and the same, they must do so; but thus to transfer that which a writer says of one sect particularly, and *by name*, to the other sect, as if it had been said of them, is, to say the least of it, merely begging the question. This is not the place for entering into that question, as I hope to do, and to expose the practice, which has prevailed among writers on this subject, of affecting to consider names, very distinctly used by ancient writers, as equivalent; and even altering their text to make them speak according to some hypothesis which they contradict. But what is the real state of things even in the present instance? It is, that Mr. Faber refers to five works—the authors of the first four, who *are* speaking of the Leonists, imputed to them no such sentiments as he mentions; while the author of the fifth, who *is not* speaking of Leonists, *does* attribute the sentiments to the Cathari. But it is merely under cover of the confusion which they have made, that modern writers about the Vaudois, contrive to give the least shadow of plausibility to their statements.

Our business, however, at present, is with the fifth chapter of Reinerius. Should Mr. Faber, thus called on for a distinct statement, reply that he *had* read the fifth chapter of Reinerius when he wrote that argument on the fourth which I give in the Extract—should he state that he wrote that argument with a full knowledge of the contents of that fifth chapter—it appears to me that he will only place himself in the more awkward predicament of having to explain why he suppressed that knowledge, and will find it difficult to persuade people that he framed that argument without intending to take unfair advantage of the ignorance of his readers.

Editions of Reinerius.

IN my first letter to Mr. Rose, I noticed the conduct of those writers who, while they quote Reinerius Saccho as a witness *for the piety* of the Waldenses, leave out his repeated declaration “*parum orant*”—they pray but little. In his reply, Mr. King suggested that the Waldenses entered into their closets, and shut the door when they prayed, “and this was the reason why they seemed to Reinerius to be *living without prayer*.” p. 76. To this I answered that, though others might have been thus misled, Reinerius had been, according to Mr. King’s own account, a member of the sect seventeen years, and a leading man in it, and must have known better. He tells me, by way of rejoinder, that member or no member, this was a thing which, when the door was shut, Reinerius could not tell, without looking “through the window or the key hole.” p. 11. I do not know whether this is meant for wit or argument, but, either way, it is unworthy of notice, except to explain what follows respecting the fact of this omission.

The patrons of the Waldenses, however, do not always omit these words, but give us a version by which the “*parum orant*” is, by a strange alchemy, transmuted into a compliment—“they are concise and devout in their prayers, blaming an unanimated prolixity.” Mr. King clears Milner of the suspicion of *originating* this version, by shewing that when he gave it he was, as usual, copying from a modern book—that is, from Gilpin’s lives; and, farther than that,

as Gilpin gives no authority, Mr. King does not pretend to trace this most extraordinary translation.

To search after it, or to add anything to what I have already said, respecting the conduct of either Joseph or Dean Milner, in this particular affair, is not my present business; and I only allude to the points which I have just mentioned to render what follows intelligible to those who have not seen what has already passed on the subject. I have stated that my object in writing now, is to shew that the Waldensian part of Mr. King's pamphlet was not a matter to run away from. It is enough here to say, that his shift is to suggest that among the editions of Reinerius there may be some—in particular that of Coussord, whom he calls Coussodorus—which may contain a various reading which may justify what I have called, and again call, a “shameless perversion.”

“Not being able,” Mr. King says, “to trace the reference any higher, I submit the inquiry, whether Mr. Maitland is quite sure that nothing is to be found in the works of Reinerius, or of any one who bears the same name, which will justify Mr. Gilpin's translation? That the inquiry is not unreasonable, will appear from the fact that there were two different editors of Reinerius' Works—Coussodorus and Gretzer,* in which even contradictory representations of the same fact appear. An example furnished by Usher will suffice: ‘Thus indeed writes the Reinerius of Coussodorus; ‘They (the Waldenses) neither hold nor receive the Old Testament, but the Gospels;’ yet the Reinerius of Gretzer, so far from speaking thus, asserts the direct contrary.’† I therefore submit, that the difference complained of may be above the reach of all modern historians.” (p. 77.)

* Vide Cave Hist. Lit. vol. ii. p. 302.

† Usher de Successione, cap. viii. p. 234.

Mr. King had previously said at p. 10—

“An example of the carelessness with which Mr. Maitland flings his censures around him, is furnished in his treatment of Archbishop Usher. That learned prelate is not exempt from the

insinuation, at least, of carelessness or vanity in copying others. The preface, however, of the treatise ‘*De Christianarum Ecclesiarum, successione et statu*,’ contains proof that the Archbishop was no stranger to Reinerius, and to the different editions of his work.” *

As to the “different editions” of Reinerius, on which Mr. King professes to give us information, and to which, he says, that Ussher was no stranger, I apprehend that, if Mr. King had known what he was speaking of, he would have been aware that, when Ussher began his book, there was *no* edition of Reinerius, and that, when he had finished it, there was but one, and that there never has been any other. The edition published by Gretser, which came to Ussher’s hands between his writing the 6th and 8th chapters of his book, *De Successione*, has been reprinted over and over in successive editions of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; but I am much mistaken

* Let me notice, by the way, what Mr. King is pleased to say about my “treatment of Archbishop Usher.” In his more recent letter he tells me, “you are charged with *misrepresenting* Faber, and Usher, and Allix.” p. 6. As to my misrepresenting the Archbishop, I must beg Mr. King to be more particular; for I am not aware of having done any such thing. I stated that I had not seen his book, and the utmost that Mr. King can pretend is, that, to an unthinking reader, Ussher might seem to be included in what I said respecting those writers who had copied the quotation from the fourth chapter of Reinerius from some other source than the original without acknowledgment; but, in fact, whatever there might be, as respects some other writers, there was, and there could be, no such charge brought by me against Ussher; because, not having (as I stated) seen his book, I could not tell whether he professed to cite from the original or not. But, as to my treatment of the Archbishop, I am sure it was meant to be, and I think it was, most respectful. I said, “as the authority of Reinerius has been cited by one after another, for two centuries, and, among others, by one whose name must command respect, *and might almost excuse blind confidence*, it may be worth while just to trace the matter,” &c. I cannot conceive how I could have more fully expressed respect. According to my ideas, I could not have paid a greater compliment to any man, than to say that his name was such a voucher for truth as might almost excuse the blind confidence of his followers; but what will people think respecting Mr. King’s “treatment” of me, when I tell them that, having previously quoted this passage, with a note, to tell his readers (what was plain enough) that I meant Archbishop Ussher, he omitted (without any hint of omission) the words which I have here put in italics?

if there ever was any other edition. By the words which Mr. King quotes, Ussher only meant that, in a quotation given by Coussord as from Reinerius, there was a statement which disagreed with the text of Reinerius as published by Gretser; and, so far was he from supposing that Coussord was an "editor" of Reinerius, that he referred in this place to Coussord's own book in the margin, "*Coussord. Valdenses. error. confutat. fol. 78.*" In fact, this extract of Coussord's is given (with a reference to *Coussord cont. Wald. p. 126*) in Allix's book on the Churches of Piedmont, p. 205—213; and therein Coussord says, (according to Allix's translation), "This is that, courteous reader, which I have transcribed out of an old MS. parchment book, writ 296 years ago by "Friar Reinerius," &c. Coussord did not pretend to edit, but only to extract from a manuscript copy of a work which had not been printed or edited by anybody; and which was not printed till more than sixty years afterwards.

Mr. King refers, however, to Cave, who says, (II. 302.) "Exstat *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis*, a Claudio Coussord Paris. 1548 edita. Magnam libri partem ediderat Flaccius Illyricus in Catal. Test. Verit. p. 431." Now, had Mr. King really understood the subject, and my book which he professed to criticise, he would have been aware, that the *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis*, which Cave says that Coussord published, is the work mentioned by me at p. 437; and collated, with the text of Reinerius as published by Gretser, among my authorities at p. 531; and, he would also have known, that this *Summa Fratris Renerii* so said to be published by Coussord, as I stated in my letter to Mr. Rose, "is little more than an extract from the *Liber contra Waldenses*," published by Gretser; and also, that this *Summa Fratris Renerii* begins in the *fourth*, and ends in the *sixth*, chapter of the larger work; whereas the "parum orant" occurs in the *third* and *seventh* chapters. He would thus have

known that the work of which Cave speaks, could have no various reading which might account for the perversion, because it did not contain any corresponding chapters to those which contained the "parum orant." If, therefore, Coussord did edit this *Summa*, and this *Summa* were found to differ from, and contradict, in some instances, the work of which it seems to be a part, yet it gives not the least colour to Mr. King's suggestion.

But farther—if Mr. King had really understood the subject as well as he ought to have done, before he came forward with such an assumption of authority to correct me, he would have known that this was all a mistake of Cave's. He would have seen that, in the few words of Cave which I have quoted, there was more than one gross error, and would have been aware that, though a learned man, and a much better authority than most of those on whom he was in the habit of relying, Cave was not infallible.* It is a mistake to say that Coussord published the *Summa* at all; not only because, as I have said, he merely professed to give an extract, but because the matter of that extract is not in the *Summa* of Reinerius. Cave gave the authority on which he made his statement; and, if Mr. King did not know it before, yet if he had referred (according to Cave's direction) to Martene, he would have seen that the notion of Coussord's editing Reinerius at all was a mere mistake. Nay, perhaps, if he had looked a little farther into the matter, he

* In the first place, to tell us that Flaccius Illyricus *had* published a great part of the *Summa* in his Catalogue of Witnesses before Coussord published the whole, is in itself a double mistake, for Flaccius did not publish his Catalogue till eight years after Coussord's book, and when he did publish it, the extract was from the larger work, and contained much that was not in the *Summa*, and among other things, both the statements of "parum orant." I suppose that Cave was misled by Ussher's saying, "Frater Raynerius in *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis* (Parisiis a Claudio Coussord ann. 1548. edita) ita rem hanc proponit," &c. This was before Ussher had seen the Reinerius of Gretser.

might have been led to doubt (if the evidence of his senses could persuade him to doubt the infallibility of modern writers on his own side of the question) whether—notwithstanding all that has been said by Ussher and Allix and Cave, and even Coussord himself—he, the said Coussord, had ever seen the *Summa Renerii*, or the *Liber contra Waldenses*, or any work of Reinerius at all. By looking into Martene, he might have seen that what stands in Allix, and is quoted by Coussord, as from Reinerius, is no more a part of the *Summa*, than it is of the larger work; and if, after making this discovery, he had turned over a few more pages of Martene, he would have found an anonymous “*Tractatus de Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno*,” which I have mentioned at p. 469 of my book, and would have seen that Coussord’s extract was taken from it. Who was the author of that tract I do not know. Martene professes to have taken it from Stephen of Bourbon, whom I have mentioned, p. 128; but Semler states, on the authority of D’Argentré,* that this anonymous tract is the same which is generally known as the *Summa Yvoneti*, which I have mentioned, p. 259, 260. But that Coussord was in error in supposing that he had got hold of a MS. of Reinerius, seems to be pretty clear.

What becomes, however, of the editions of Reinerius? and how are we now to get over the “*parum orant?*”

Modesty and Severity.

It may be right to say a few words on Mr. King’s charges and insinuations respecting my want of modesty, and my censure of others, in which he seems much more anxious to impress on his readers an idea that I speak with

* Hist. Ecc. Sel. Cap. Vol. III. p. 145.

severity, than to enquire whether that severity is directed against truth or falsehood. He says, "an example of the thoughtlessness with which Mr. Maitland flings his censures around him, is furnished in his treatment of Archbishop Usher." His treatment of my words, respecting the Primate, I have already noticed; but his language implies a general charge, which is more plainly made when he speaks of "censures, so freely dealt out to the several authors accused of dishonesty or stupidity, of carelessness, or vanity," (p. 7) and again, "'It is a sad thing,' says Mr. Maitland, 'that error and falsehood should be handed down from one to another, till, after frequent repetition, they assume a tone of dogmatism and authority, which precludes [seems to preclude] all doubt,' But it is a thing, at best, equally 'sad;' first, to distort the most explicit historical testimony, and then to visit, with unsparing censures, the fairest names which grace the annals of any country." p. 12.

Now, I should like to ask to whom these "fairest names" belong? Even Mr. King's own garbled reprint of my words does not make me speak disrespectfully of Ussher; and what others are there among those writers whom I have censured, of whom it is anything less than ludicrous bombast—nay, something worse, positive falsehood,—to talk of their having "the fairest names which grace the annals of any country"?

This exaggeration being connected with what I said of Allix, I presume he is one of them; indeed, notwithstanding Mr. King's general application of my words, Allix is, I believe, the only one to whom the words "dishonesty or stupidity" were applied. This the reader may see by turning to the Extract; and let him judge for himself how far I had grounds for asking to which of those sources we were to attribute Allix's mode of proceeding in respect of Reinerius.

I apprehend that what is there shewn is quite a sufficient justification of what I said; at the same time I should not have spoken in such terms of any writer whom I did not consider as having given other grounds of suspicion, both as to dishonesty and stupidity. I do not, however, hesitate to say, that I have felt it more difficult, in reading the works of Allix, than those of any other writer whatever, to decide whether he had completely puzzled himself, or was trying to impose on his readers. Nothing, I think, but a charitable opinion of stupidity can save him from being convicted of dishonesty in the mind of every moderately informed and reflecting reader. This is not the place to criticise his works; but I will mention one other case by way of a specimen. Imagine a man, making any pretensions to common sense, and yet gravely writing a whole chapter of between seven and eight close-printed pages, to argue this question, proposed at the head of it in these very terms—"whether the Albigenses were Manichees, *because* they accused the Pope of being Antichrist."* He tells us that Bossuet had maintained the affirmative; but could he suppose, or could he honestly desire his readers to suppose, that the Bishop meant to maintain, or even to make, so purely absurd a statement? Or, if he did believe Bossuet to be so very foolish, who, but a man that was either stupid or dishonest, would have thought of writing a serious disproof of it, and talking in numbered subdivisions of, "1. Archelaus Bishop of Mesopotamia, which the late Mr. Bigot† hath communicated to the public," and Cyril of Jerusalem. 2. Epiphanius. 3. St. Augustine and St. Leo. 4. The Treatise of Predestinatus. 5. Isidore of Seville, and Johannes Damascenus.

* Ch. of Albig. c. xix. p. 197.

† That is Emeric Bigot who had given De Valois the fragment which he published in his edition of Socrates, &c.

6. Petrus Siculus.—Imagine, I say, a man's making this parade of argument and learning, to shew that it was no essential part of genuine original Manicheism to call the Pope Antichrist? Having once said, in language which Mr. King may perhaps admire for its mildness and courtesy, that, "saving the reverence due to this Prelate, there is nothing falser, nothing that seems to be more raving," why should he write a whole chapter about it? He could not for a moment imagine that any person at all qualified to understand his own book, (supposing, as perhaps he might, that it was intelligible) could be led to assent for a moment to so monstrous a proposition, or require anything like a formal refutation of it—and why then write a whole chapter about it? Was it that he was so stupid as really to believe that the Bishop of Meaux meant, that Manes and his immediate disciples thought the Bishop of Rome was Antichrist? Did he think that people who could know what persons or books he meant, when he talked of Archelaus and Cyril, Epiphanius and Augustine, could need to be referred to them in refutation of a statement as truly, and as greatly (though not to general readers, as obviously) absurd and preposterous, as it would be to maintain that the Council of Nice was held in Noah's ark? What must we think of any man who should seriously set to work to refute such a statement, and enquire 1. Doth he find anything of it in the book of Genesis? 2. Doth he find it in Philo Judæus? 3. Doth he find it in Josephus, and so on, to Athanasius Kircher? I venture to say, that this would not be more absurd than Allix's proceeding. Did he then really believe that the argument was necessary, or was it dishonesty? Was it the dishonesty of making up a man of straw, and knocking it to pieces with a great deal of noise and dust, to delude the nineteen-twentieths of his readers, who would read without enquiry? I offer this merely as one specimen, to be added to that which

has given rise to this mention of Allix; and I ask whether his is one of "the fairest names which grace the annals of any country"? It seems to me that whoever says that it is, libels the two countries which may contend for the honour of it.

But who are the others? Whom have I censured beside Allix? Does Mr. King mean Perrin, who was so far from gracing the annals of his country, that they are disgraced by the order of a Protestant Synod to burn his manuscripts?* or the learned Morland, who refers us to "the *Bibliothèque des Peres*, printed at Paris, 1624, the author whereof was Jac. Gretsero"? or the rather more learned Leger, who seems to have been a little staggered at this authorship, and who is content to make Jac. Gretsero only the *editor* of the work with which he had nothing to do? Was I to take these men as oracles about Reinerius, while (to say nothing of their works generally) they were thus blundering about even the source of information as to that very point? Let any man look at—deny if he can, or, if he thinks proper, excuse—the barefaced falsehoods of Leger and Maclaine about the statements of Reinerius as to the 500 years,† and then say whether they are to be paraded among the fairest names which grace the annals of any country? or was the compliment intended for Mr. Faber?

I beg Mr. King plainly to state *what writers he means*; and proceed to offer one or two remarks on a kindred pas-

* I say this on the authority of a writer in the *Christian Observer* for December, 1835; whose statement has not, I believe, been disputed. I do not know his authority; but he appears to have bestowed so much pains, and to have collected so much information on the subject, that I should not suppose him to be mistaken. If he is, however, it makes no real difference to my argument; for if Perrin's manuscripts were not burned, they certainly ought to have been; and to talk of *his* name gracing the annals of his country, either by his burnt or unburnt productions, is perfectly absurd.

† See Facts and Doc. p. 31. or the Extract.

sage which stands at p. 4, and is his comment on my remarks, already referred to, respecting the borrowing of references by authors. He says, “after this very good advice, delivered certainly without any excess of modesty, he proceeds,” &c. It is, of course, quite vain for one who writes thus to pretend that his object was not to excite personal feeling against an opponent; and those who thought the practice wrong, will only think the denial of it mean and contemptible. But, where truth is concerned, I dare not affect modesty; and, however immodest it may be, I shall protest against those writers who borrow references without verification, and avow my disrespect for those who try to sneer away what certainly is very good advice, under pretence of talking about modesty. Modesty, too, from one who came forward on the grounds which Mr. King professed. But, in truth, if I made too free in this matter, it was not so much from a want of modesty, as of information. It was not from a conceit that I was authorised to do anything particular, but from the idea that I was merely doing that which any body might do, and for which every honest man would thank me. I was in the habit of considering a lie as a thing not merely *feræ naturæ*, but as a species of mischievous vermin, that any man who saw it going might knock down as he would a rat or a stoat; and had no idea of preserves for such things, or of taking out a license as an authorised censor.

Certainly the case of Reinerius is one that ought to be exposed, and, I trust, it is in a fair way to be so; and, whether it is modest or not, I repeat my wish, “that, in conjunction *with many other* cases of a like nature, it may tend to put writers on their guard how they adopt authorities, especially in matters of controversy, and so make themselves responsible for the falsehoods and mistakes of their predecessors.” It was very good advice—and those

who have read my other pamphlets will know what I mean by "many other cases;" and will also know that Mr. King is not the first opponent whom I have been obliged to remind that a resort to the *argumentum ad verecundiam* is one of the surest signs of conscious weakness.

The brief Outline.

OF the brief outline which follows, and which Mr. King appears to have taken principally from Allix, who, he tells us, "traces from century to century, the true Church of Christ," I do not feel myself called on to speak here in detail, because it brings no specific charge against me. It is, moreover, nothing but the common history of what is called "the line of witnesses;" and it would take a volume to expose all the ignorance or trickery by which all sorts of heretics have been strung together to form it; but after alluding to the Waldensian MSS. of which I will speak presently, Mr. King says—

"The general view which has been sketched of the extent and influence of Waldensian doctrines for centuries before the birth of Waldo, is confirmed by the testimony of Roman Catholic writers, among whom it may suffice to name Marcus Aurelius Rorengo, who affirms that Claude's heresy continued during the ninth and tenth centuries, in the vallies of Piedmont." p. 20.

For the nineteen out of twenty who take things on trust, it "may suffice to name Marcus Aurelius Rorengo;" and, what is more—though Mr. King affects to speak as if such witnesses were plentiful—yet I believe it must suffice; for I do not know of any other writer who would affirm all that is said to be vouched for by him. It is on this account, I presume, as well as his high-sounding name (one of the "fairest names that grace" this controversy) that he is such

a favourite with writers on the antiquity of the Waldenses. The period of which he speaks is a very awkward interval in this line of witnesses, between Claudius of Turin and Peter Waldo, who had, in fact, about as much connection as Montanus and Martin Luther—that is ~~cur~~jay, both condemned idolatry, and both were considered heretical by the Church of Rome—but between whom there is, in point of time, a chasm of near three centuries which is charmingly filled up by this valiant Prior; who, in a book which he published in the year 1632, vouches that the heresy of Claude continued in those parts during the ninth and tenth centuries. Thus there is only something less than another century to account for, which is a mere trifle that may be taken for granted. This was the clinching argument of Sir Samuel Morland, who, after arguing that, “the lapse of time between Claudius “Archbishop of Turin, and Waldo, does not at all hinder “the continual Succession of those Churches and that Religion, no more than those dark intervalls which were in “the Church before and after the Deluge,” &c. adds, “I “shall proceed a step further, and make bold to allege more- “over, that Marc. Aurelio Rorenco Priour of Lucerna in his “Narratione del Introduttione de gl’ heretici nelle Valle di “Piemonte, printed at Turin, Anno Dom. 1632. with ap- “probation and privilege, confesses that it continued to the “ninth and tenth century, which is the very intervall be- “tween the said Claudius and Peter Waldo, or rather the re- “treat of certain of his Disciples into the said Valleys. For “the said Rorenco testifies in express terms pag. 16. ‘Nel “nono è decimo secolo continuarono l’ heresie antecedenti,’ “that is, The abovesaid Heresie continued throughout the “ninth and tenth centuries. And to remove all scruples, “that this doctrine which he calls Heresie, (as S. Paul speaks “Acts 24 14. and which the enemies of the Christian Religion call Heresie) continued in the Valleys of Piemont,

“ the same Rorengo in his Historical Observations printed
 “ at Turin, 1649. with approbation, and dedicated to the
 “ Duke himself, confesseth pag. 3. That the said Claudius
 “ Archbishop of Turin, (and consequently of the Valleys,
 “ which were within that Diocese) maintained this very doc-
 “ trine in the ninth century. Wherefore seeing the Succes-
 “ sion of the Evangelical Religion is manifest from the time
 “ of the Apostles to that of Claudius Archbishop of Turin,
 “ which was in the eighth century, and that his doctrine con-
 “ tinued in the ninth and tenth Centuries; and that in the
 “ beginning of the eleventh Century the Waldenses or Dis-
 “ ciples of Peter Waldo came into the Valleys to reside with
 “ their Brethren, where they have professed and taught the
 “ same ever since; The professors of the Reformed Re-
 “ ligion may CLAP THEIR HANDS in token of an ABSOLUTE
 “ TRIUMPH for ever against all the Disciples of the Church
 “ of Rome, and say, that they are NOW able manifestly and
 “ undeniably to prove and make good *the continual Succession*
 “ *of their Religion from the days of Christ and his apostles*
 “ *down to this present age.*” (p. 13.)

Happy Protestants who are *now* able—that is Prior Ro-
 renco having supplied an assertion which nobody before him
 had ventured to make—to shew that their church is built on
 the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets. It “ may
 suffice to name Marcus Aurelius Rorengo.” Let us not en-
 quire whether he professed to give any authority for what he
 said, or if he did, whether it was such as is open to us, or
 was peculiar to himself—let us not ask whether he was ever
 charged with telling lies, or whether he had any hostility to
 the Waldenses of the 17th century which should lead him to
 charge them with coming of an heretical stock—“ it may
 “ suffice to name him”; but let it be done with the magni-
 ficence of Leger, who assures us that he was a witness “ qui
 “ TOUT SEUL eût dû estre capable de convaincre tous les

“plus obstinez contredisans, et prouver sans repliche que les
 “Eglises des Vallées sont veritablement Apostoliques, n’ont
 “jamais soûmis leur col au joug de Rome devenuë Idolatre,
 “ni eû par consequent besoin d’estre Reformées et repurgées
 “de ses abus, mais seulement de continuer á prendre soig-
 “neusement garde qu’ils ne se fourassent entr’elles, c’est
 “encore L’ILLUSTRE MARCO AURELIO RORENCO, Conseig-
 “neur de la Vallée de Lucerne, grand Prieur de S. Roc,
 “consideré par Messieurs de Rome comme le plus diligent,
 “le plus subtil, et le plus efficaceux instrument qu’elle ait
 “pû recontrer dans ce siecle, pour harceler ces pauvres gens
 “des Vallées, et l’homme du monde le plus adroit á forger
 “les conseils et les autres outils de leur ruïne, comme estant
 “vieilli en cette étude (car il est déjà decrepit) dans son
 “Livre intitulé ‘Narratione dell’ introduttione delle heresie
 “nelle Valli,’ imprimé á Thurin l’an 1632 avec approbation
 “et privilege.”*—Sad indeed it is to find persons taking
 hold of silly misstatements of modern writers, and setting
 them up as oracles. Sad indeed to find them taking ad-
 vantage of the ignorance of the nineteen out of twenty, by
 talking of obscure modern writers as if they were well known,
 and of acknowledged authority, and setting them up in the
 very face of the ancient writers—but, as I have already said,
 this brief outline contains nothing that appears to me to re-
 quire a specific answer. If I am thought to pass over any-
 thing in it requiring notice, I shall be glad to have it pointed
 out.

* p. 173. Of course it is only where he says what can be turned to ac-
 count that Prior Rorencio is “illustrious.” Elsewhere Leger ridicules him as
 the “grand Factotum du dit Marquès de Pianesse,” and describes him as a
 barefaced liar, who wrote “contre science et conscience.” p. 182.

Waldensian Manuscripts.

I refer back to the preceding page of Mr. King's pamphlet to notice the following passage:—

“On the date of some of the deposited manuscripts, Mr. Maitland has succeeded in throwing just suspicion; but, with that want of discrimination which ever attends him in his critical investigations, he rejects them all as ‘the clumsy forgeries which modern Vaudois have put forth.’ With such license as this, what is there which an author cannot prove or disprove at pleasure”? p. 19.

It seems to me that, if I have succeeded in throwing *just* suspicion on the Confession, I have thrown just suspicion on all. If that Confession is a forgery, few reasonable persons will believe the antiquity of the other papers. As Mr. King does not condescend to notice those points of suspicion which apply to all the Morland manuscripts, it is unnecessary for me to reply; but I think I may ask whether it is not rather by such unsupported assertions against an opponent that an author may prove or disprove at pleasure,—at least to the satisfaction of nineteen out of twenty? *

Defective Information.

IN proof of my defective information on the subject of the Waldenses, Mr. King says—

“Though it is not of much importance to the general question, yet it will show that Mr. Maitland's acquaintance with his subject is not very great, if I remark, that the first document in which he discovers the name of Waldenses is dated 1194; whereas Usher

* Since this was written, my remarks on this Confession have been printed in the Christian Observer for this present month of May; having been sent by a writer who subscribes himself Essex, without my knowledge, in reply to the Editor's enquiry on the subject.

found it, or at least the equivalent name of *Valdesii*, in the Bodleian manuscript of Walter Mapes, whence it appears to have been the well known title of the sect in 1179." p. 20.

I stated that I had not seen Archbishop Ussher's book, and of course I did not know what he found in the Bodleian manuscript. I had not then observed any use of the name earlier than 1194; and I should be afraid to decide, as confidently as Mr. King does, that the passage of Walter Mapes, to which he refers, furnishes a proof that it was a well-known title so early as he imagines. Though the writer, in a book which he wrote afterwards (if he was Walter Mapes, it might well be after the year 1194) called the people whom he had seen at the Council of Lateran *Valdesii*, it does not follow that it was a "well-known title of the sect" when that Council was held. Nobody, I believe, doubts that Walter Mapes was living in the year 1210; and it is clear enough that it became a well-known title during his life time.

Still it seems most probable that they had already received the name at the time of the Council; and, had I known the passage quoted by Ussher, I should not only have stated that probability, but I should have laid some stress on Walter Mapes's plain declaration, that the Waldenses received their name from their being followers of the Citizen of Lyons. Here is a man who actually saw them in the year 1179, and who declares "Vidimus in Concilio Romano sub Alexandro "Papa III. celebrato Valdesios, homines idiotas illiteratos " (*a primate ipsorum Valde dictos, qui fuerat civis Lugduni "super Rhodanum*) qui librum Domino Papæ præsentaverunt," &c. *Uss.* 220.

It is, indeed, a very awkward testimony for those who talk of the churches of the *vallies*; and I do not know that it has been noticed by any modern writer except Allix, who says, "True it is, that Gualterus Mappeus, who assisted at "that Council, where he disputed against them, calls them

“*Valdesii*, and speaks of them, as if they had got that name “from Petrus Valdo, who had been very famous amongst “them. But it is apparent that he did so only to abuse “them.”* How this is apparent I am sure I do not know; or how it is to be proved by Allix’s going on, as he does, to muddle the *Valdesii* so particularly described, with the Cathari, Paterines, and Publicans condemned by the Council; but it may be worth while to notice the inferences which some modern writers have deduced from this statement, in order to shew how systems are made up. Speaking of Peter Waldo, Allix tells us that “it is most true” “that he “died *before* the year 1179, as appears from the account “*Guilielmus Mappeus* gives us.”† He does not, that I can perceive, give any reference, or any hint of the source from whence he got this information about Walter Mapes; and, therefore, it is not I suppose unfair to imagine that he was borrowing from Ussher, who took the words which I have quoted from a Bodleian manuscript. If so, I presume that Allix’s statement about the death of Waldo must rest on the “*fuerat*” applied to him, which is but a slender ground, if the common account be true, that Peter had ceased to be a citizen of Lyons before he died. Be this as it may, however, Allix is only following Perrin, and Mr. Blair improves upon his inference by telling us, “According to *William Mappeus*, Peter Waldo died in Bohemia *in* the year 1179.”‡ Such is the lax way in which stories are made up; and though it has nothing immediately to do with the point (which is merely to acknowledge my ignorance of this passage quoted by Ussher) yet I cannot help noticing it, and taking every opportunity to caution readers how they give implicit credence to modern writers about the Waldenses, even when they give references to ancient authorities.

* Churches of Pied. 196. † Ib. p. 199. ‡ Blair Hist. of Wald. I. p. 256.

Further Evidence of defective information.

Mr. King proceeds to say—

“Further evidence of defective information is supplied by the following question, in which Mr. Maitland expresses a surprise bordering upon superciliousness, at those modern authors who have presumed to say that the Waldenses were accused by their enemies of Manicheism. ‘No, to be sure,’ he exclaims, ‘what writer who knew anything of the *Waldenses*, ever charged *them* with being Manicheans [Manicheism]? It is easy to make men of straw and vanquish them, &c.’* ”

“The question shall be answered by Archbishop Usher, who may be supposed to have ‘known something of the Waldenses,’ and who was neither in the habit of making or of fighting ‘men of straw.’ His words are: ‘At these times, when Manicheans and Waldenses lived in the same places, they were censured by the pontifical party under the common name of heretics, and of enemies of the apostolic see; and partly through the ignorance of some, partly through the fraud and malice of others, it came to pass that the Waldenses and Leonists (as they call them) were believed to be defiled with the same errors as the Cathari and Manicheans.’† ”

“The credibility of a writer is not always to be measured by the boldness of his manner, or the strength of his assertions. Mr. Maitland, probably aware that his unqualified language would create some surprise, endeavours to justify himself in the following style; which, after the specimen given of his own correctness, will not be thought to serve his cause. ‘Should I seem to speak confidently, let me say, that if it were any way a matter of skill, or taste, or scholarship, or if it were any way a matter of opinion,‡ I hope I should not do so; but it is a mere matter of fact, respecting

* Facts and Documents, page 133.

† De Successione, &c. cap. viii. See also Du Cange, who says, ‘This appellation (Manicheans) was afterwards given to *Valdensian* heretics, &c.’ ”

‡ The words which Mr. King here professes to quote are as follow, ‘if it were a matter of skill, or taste, or scholarship, or if it were in any way whatever

which persons of very mean capacity are quite capable of judging, if they will but take the trouble to examine; and *if I could not speak confidently about it, I would not speak* [of it] *at all.** Yet perhaps the reader will conclude, that, as it regards ‘matters of fact,’ some degree of modesty is becoming; and that the writer would have done credit both to his understanding and to his principles, had he either spoken less confidently, or not spoken at all.”

* Letter to Rose, p. vi.

Whether the defective information in this matter is on my side or on Mr. King’s, those who understand the subject will be able to judge. Allix, after extracting from, and abstracting, one of the manuscripts brought to England by Sir Samuel Morland from the Vaudois, in the time of Oliver Cromwell, breaks out—“Now I defy the impudence of the Devil himself to find therein the least shadow of Manicheism;” and it was in reply to this that I remarked, “No, to be sure,—what writer who ever knew any thing of the *Waldenses*, ever charged *them* with Manicheism. It is easy to

a matter of opinion.” I have repeatedly had occasion to observe on Mr. King’s alterations of words which he professed to quote as mine. Many of them are certainly very immaterial, and unworthy of notice, except as they indicate a carelessness about truth, which should put his readers on their guard. I need scarcely say, however, that a very slight alteration—perhaps the omission of a single letter—may make a material difference in the idea conveyed by a passage. When at p. 68 of his pamphlet, in copying my translation, Mr. King makes me say of “an evident disciple of the master of lying *they* could not be ignorant,” his changing *he* into *they*, only makes me write bad grammar, and mis-translate; but I doubt whether the omission of a single letter in another word of the sentence has not made a greater difference, and really led the reader to form a wrong idea. Whom does he suppose to be meant by “the master of lying”? I translated *magistrorum* by *masters*. Such variations are so frequent (I might almost say so constant) that I feel it quite necessary to notice them. Beside the omission of my words about Ussher at p. 4—of Allix’s “cap. 5” both at p. 6 and at p. 12—of “at p. 36” about Mr. Faber—the insertion of words into what he particularly stated to be my “*own words*” at p. 8—beside these which I have already noticed; and beside some larger unacknowledged omissions at p. 7 and 27, which may have been made for the sake of brevity—beside all these, in the extracts which Mr. King has given, (and which, all put together, could not, I think, fill eight of his not very close printed pages) I could, if it were worth while, specify at least five-and-twenty other instances, in which, by putting in or putting out, or altering, or transposing words, Mr. King has departed from the original in professed citations of my words.

make men of straw, and vanquish them," &c. and I enquired why Allix did not explain a suspicious circumstance which was to be found in it, and which he had himself noticed, instead of slipping away from it with this blustering defiance of the Devil to find what no decently informed friend or enemy of the Waldenses would think of looking for.

Now, surely, the proper way to convict me of ignorance in this matter would have been to bring forward writers who were really well informed respecting the Waldenses, and yet *did* charge them with being Manicheans. This Mr. King does not pretend to do. He tells me that Ussher "may be supposed to have 'known something of the Waldenses'"—well, but of all people in the world, did *he* charge them with being Manicheans? Quite the contrary—he says, according to Mr. King's own account, that by reason of *ignorance*, *fraud*, or *malice*, they came to be confounded with the Manicheans, owing to their living amongst them. This appears even more clearly when the passage is restored from Mr. King's garbling, who has omitted what I here put in the parenthesis. "At these times when the Manicheans and "Waldenses *lived in the same places* (by reason of which "both got the names of Albigenses, Agennois, and other "names of a like nature*) and were set down by papists "under the common name of heretics and enemies of the "Apostolic see, partly through the ignorance and carelessness of some, partly by the fraud and malice of others, "it came to pass that the Waldenses, or Leonists as they "called them, were believed to be defiled with the same errors as the Cathari and Manicheans."† No doubt, at those times when the Manichees and Waldenses were living together, and fighting together, against a common enemy,

* "Ejus generis alia cognomenta"—that is, names merely describing their locality.

† De Succes. p. 233.

they were confounded under common names. This I have explicitly stated in my fifth section. There was a popular confusion; and modern writers have done all they could to encrease and to take advantage of it; but if Mr. King would justify his pretence of superior information, it must be by bringing forward writers of good authority—it will *not* “suffice to name Marcus Aurelius Rorencio”—who seriously and deliberately charged the Waldenses with Manicheism. Let him shew that they were accused of it in such a way as to require an argumentative defence, or justify this triumphant sally of Allix, who would have his readers suppose that he had done great things for his cause, by defying “the impudence of the devil himself” to find in the Noble Lesson (supposing it not to be a forgery) what his best informed opponents, Bossuet for instance, never pretended was Waldensian doctrine.*

Whatever might be Ussher’s custom, it certainly was Allix’s way, as I have already stated, and shewn by his chapter on calling the Pope Antichrist, to make, and to fight with, men of straw; a business in which he has made so

* Take such passages as these—“Je produis d’abord Alanus.....dans la seconde partie de son ouvrage Alanus traite des Vaudois.....il nous suffit d’observer ici qu’il n’y a rien qui ressente le manichéisme” L. XI § 48. 49. “Pierre de Vaucernai fit son histoire des Albigeois.....tout est du fond du manichéisme.....Il n’attribue rien de semblable á d’autres heretiques.....qu’on appeloit Vaudois.....voila encore une fois les Albigeois et les Vaudois, deux sectes très-bien distinguées, et la dernière sans aucune marque de Manichéens.” Ibid. § 50. “Ebrard, natif de Béthune, dont le livre intitulé Antihérésie, est composé contre les hérétiques de Flandre. Ces hérétiques s’appeloient Piples ou Piphles.....Après avoir mis par ordre tout ce qu’il avoit á dire contre cette secte, il parle contre celle des Vaudois, qu’il distingue, comme les autres de celle des nouveaux Manichéens.” Ibid. § 52. 53. He then goes on to Reinerius Saccho, of whom he says, “il en rapport tous les dogmes jusques aux moindres précisions. Tout y est très-éloigné des Manichéens, comme on verra dans la suite.” Ibid. § 55. “Les Protestans, après avoir pris pour chose avouée, que les Albigeois et les Vaudois n’étoient qu’une même secte, ont conclu que les Albigeois n’avoient été traités de Manichéens que par calomnie; puisque selon les anciens auteurs les Vaudois sont exempts de cette tache.” Ibid. § 131.

much dust and noise, that he has imposed upon negligent readers. Let Mr. King, I repeat, bring forward the real opponents against whom it was worth Allix's while to argue that the Waldenses were not Manicheans. If there are such, I freely own that my information is defective; but let him not, by picking out, and piecing together, words written at different times, in different books, and with reference to different facts, pretend that I expected people to be surprised at that which I did not anticipate that any body would deny; and that I thought it necessary to justify my mode of speaking as to anything with which we are at present concerned. Would any body believe that my words cited in the third paragraph of this extract, are drawn from a pamphlet written two or three years after that passage about Allix to which the other two paragraphs refer—that the matter of fact to which those words of mine relate had nothing to do with Allix or Ussher, with Manichees or Waldenses—that they referred merely to the value of Milner's History, looking upon it as a work which may be used to inculcate doctrine. When I used the expression which Mr. King here so unfairly tacks on to the matter of Allix, I was stating that which I knew would appear strange to such readers as implicitly believed those statements of the Christian Observer, and Mr. Scott, respecting Milner's History, which even Mr. King does not pretend to justify. I was convinced that I spoke the truth; though a truth that would be disputed by very respectable persons; but, in the case of Allix, I certainly did not dream that any body would think of contradicting me; nor could it have been done by any but a man deeply ignorant of the history of the Waldenses, and of the controversy about them. As to the honesty of this mode of contradicting, and pretending that I anticipated contradiction, it is another matter.

With regard to Du Cange, to whom Mr. King refers in

his note, he may say that the name of Manicheans was given to the Valdenses; but if what he says means more than what has been already explained, I shall take leave to think that he was one of those writers who did not (in the sense in which I evidently used the phrase) know anything of the Waldenses; and this, considering how much he knew of other matters, may be no great disgrace; for it certainly was a subject on which learned men did not take much trouble to enquire accurately. But I should like to see what he does say; which Mr. King's lax mode of reference has not yet enabled me to do. I have looked under the words Manichæi, Valdenses, and Albigenses, and find nothing like it.

The Letter of Pope Nicolas.

“A second topic of comparison,” Mr. King says, “between Milner and Maitland, is suggested by the different accounts they give of the religious character of the Paulicians.”* This is really rather singular, as I have not professed to give any account of my own, but only to bring forward the accounts given by those writers whom Milner professed to follow as his guides; and whom, without assigning any reason for so doing, he had deserted. In fact, without pretending to say anything about any account of mine, respecting the religious character of the Paulicians, Mr. King proceeds at once to discuss my attempt to suggest a reason for the account which Milner gives of it. He says—

“Mr. Maitland says: ‘As to the Paulicians, I do not know of any other historian before Milner, who has not considered them as heretics’—and after some discussion, which will be examined in its place, he asks: ‘How came he to differ so widely from all his pre-

* p. 22.

decessors, Greek, Papal and Protestant—Infidel and Christian?’ To his own question, he immediately subjoins the following answer : ‘ I do not wish to be uncharitable to him, or to those of his Protestant predecessors to whom the remark may apply, but I cannot help thinking, that a circumstance may be noticed which will go far towards explaining the matter. It is this—he *did*, and they *did not*, suppose [that] the Pope was concerned in the persecution of the Paulicians. The *discovery that Rome had any thing to do with the business, was, I believe, reserved for Milner.*’ ‘ The fact seems to be, that in writing his chapter on the Paulicians, Milner strayed away from his professed guides and got hold of a letter of Pope Nicolas, which he misunderstood. The councils, apparently for the first time, fell into his hands, just when he was engaged with a subject, on which they could give him no information, and they only led him astray.’*

“ The fallacy of all this reasoning will immediately appear ; for the very passage on which these observations are founded, which (with the accompanying references to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and to the councils by Labbé) appears in the recent editions, is wanting in the only one published during the life time of Milner ; and, therefore, by no ingenuity of argument, can it be made the basis of his peculiar opinion respecting the Paulician sect. What Milner really says is this : ‘ Theodora was succeeded by her son Michael ; her cruelties and superstitions deserved the applause of Nicolas, who became Pope of Rome in 858. In a letter he highly approved her conduct, and admired her for following the documents of the Holy See.† So truly was Antichristian tyranny now established at Rome.’‡

“ Mr. Maitland would have spared himself the trouble of much subtle reasoning to no purpose, had he traced Milner’s first thoughts, from what Milner himself had written, instead of arguing from additions made to the work after the author’s death. If, however, the discovery of this mistake, should induce more caution in imputing discreditable motives to others, and in drawing false inferences from their statements, it will not have been made in vain.

“ But, perhaps Mr. Maitland will contend that these remarks, though they weaken the force of his argument, do not absolutely

* Facts and Documents, p. 71. Letter to Rose, p. 19.

† Bower’s Hist. of Popes.

‡ Vide Milner, first Edition, vol. iii. 229.

exonerate Milner from the charge of having first made the discovery that Rome was concerned in the persecution of the Paulicians. Yet whatever proof can be wanting to convince the most sceptical, is quite within our reach. The credit or the disgrace of such a discovery in nowise belongs to Milner; as the reader may instantly see by turning to Bower's History of the Popes;* from which the following extract is taken.

“ ‘ Nicholas himself approved and applauded one of the most bloody massacres we read of in history. For what encomiums does he not bestow in one of his letters upon the Empress *Theodora*, mother to the Emperor *Michael*. He extols her as one of the most pious, most religious, and truly Catholic Princesses that ever swayed a sceptre. What Theodora had done to deserve such high commendations, Porphyrogenitus informs us in the following words.’

“ Then follows the rest of the passage, quoted in the Facts and Documents, page 73, and in the Letter to Rose, page 20, word for word, I believe, with the exception of a single expression. Thus it is established beyond the possibility of contradiction, ‘ that the discovery that Rome had any thing to do with the business, was not reserved for Milner.’ Thus also Mr. Maitland's ingenious theory perishes, and

——— like the baseless fabric of a vision
Leaves not a wreck behind !

* Vol. iv. p. 343.

I give this long extract in order that every one may see for himself the singular manner in which falsehood is slipped in under pretence of triumphant confutation. My “ reasoning,” or “ theory,” or whatever Mr. King may please to call it, remains perfectly untouched. As to his affecting to “ exonerate” Milner, and “ convince” the most sceptical, “ and establish beyond the possibility of contradiction,” that Milner was not the first person who broached the idea that the Paulicians were persecuted by the Pope, in reply to my stating the fact that *I did not know* of any earlier writer who had done so, and his pretending to find subtle reasoning, or any reasoning, on *that* point, it is merely throwing dust in his readers' eyes to prevent their seeing what is the

real point ; on which, under cover of this boasting, he tells them what is absolutely untrue. To tell them that Milner was not *the first* to suppose that the letter of Pope Nicolas referred to the Paulicians, while he admits that Milner *adopted* that blunder, though he did not *originally make* it, is doing nothing, and makes his triumphant language very ludicrous to those who believe it to be sincere, and who know what my observations were ; but to tell them that “ the very passage on which these observations are founded ” is wanting on the original edition of Milner, is a false statement as to a matter of fact, respecting which any man may easily judge even from Mr. King’s own words which I have just quoted. Take from the text of Milner, as it stands in the edition which I used (and in which I did not of course suspect that such tricks had been played as Mr. King has laid open) all that the Dean inserted, when he cancelled the reference to the real source from whence it was obtained, and enough will still remain to justify my “ reasoning ” and my “ theory ” as completely as if Joseph Milner had written every word that the Dean inserted from Bower’s History of the Popes. The simple fact is, that this difference in the editions makes no difference at all in this matter ; and if I had had the first edition instead of that which I used, I might have reasoned, and probably should have reasoned, precisely as I have done. I repeat that Mr. King merely imposes on his readers when he pretends that it would have made the least difference to my “ reasoning ” or “ theory,” if, instead of saying “ The Councils ” fell into his hands, I had said “ Bower’s History of the Popes ” fell into his hands, and led him astray ; and I might have gone on, as I did, (though Mr. King breaks off the quotation, without allowing his readers to see that the demolished theory was something very different from a charge of *originating* the mistake about the meaning of the Pope’s letter, and not at all resting upon it) “ From this letter,

“ which he found there, he gathered that the Paulicians were
 “ persecuted by the ‘ antichristian tyranny’ of Rome. This
 “ put the matter in quite a different light. The Paulicians
 “ were, in all probability, very excellent people—no doubt
 “ all insinuation of heresy was slander—they were reformers,
 “ martyrs, confessors, witnesses, *the* witnesses—and it seemed
 “ but justice to believe, that their only crime was, that they
 “ would not receive the mark of the beast.”* Are not the
 grounds on which I offered this “ theory,” if it is to be dig-
 nified with the name, as fully contained in the words which
 Mr. King gives from the first edition? Surely he cannot mean
 to insinuate that Theodora’s “ cruelties,” of which Milner
there speaks, (in his *first* edition) were any other than her
 slaughter of the Paulicians, of whom he had just said, in that
 same first edition, “ She is computed to have killed by the
 gibbet, by fire, and by sword, a hundred thousand persons”
 —he cannot mean to dispute, I presume, that Milner under-
 stood, and meant his readers to understand, that the Pope’s
 approbation, and the Pope’s letter, referred to *those* cruelties
 —and that it was in *this approbation of the Pope*, so given,
 as he supposed, to the persecution of the Paulicians, that
 Milner saw “ antichristian tyranny?” Are not these words
 which I have quoted as truly contained in one edition as the
 other? and what can Mr. King gain by talking about the
 difference of editions, except the opportunity of publishing a
 story not very creditable to the historian who professed to
 go to original sources, and still less creditable to his Editor?
 Of this, however, I have already spoken; and as the prin-
 cipal object of these pages is not to say anything about Mil-
 ner, but only to shew the materials of the terrific pamphlet
 which I am accused of not venturing to “ grapple with,” I
 will here merely state the simple fact, which must, I think,

* First Let. to Rose, p. 24.

be obvious to every reflecting reader—that Milner's *adopting* a mistake (if it was a mistake) of Bower's, instead of *making* that mistake himself, as to the purport of the Pope's letter, makes no difference whatever as to the question (which was the real question) whether from this mistake, either made or adopted, he was led into the greater mistake of supposing that the Paulicians were the real witnesses for the truth, suffering persecution for its sake. In whatever way Milner came by a belief that the Paulicians were persecuted by the Pope, that belief would prepossess him with an idea that they were good men. Has he not told us as much? has he not said at p. 67 of the fourth volume of the *original* edition, "There arose, indeed, in this century various Sectaries, besides the Waldenses, who were cruelly persecuted both by Popes and Emperors, of whom, therefore, at *first sight* we are ready to conclude, that they MUST have been the REAL people of God." Was my theory unnatural? or can any man pretend that it is in the slightest degree invalidated by its turning out that Milner got the original false idea of the Pope's Letter from a secondary source, instead of from looking at the letter itself? But Mr. King has not done with this letter of Pope Nicolas; after noticing my erroneous quotation of Mosheim, which he has since acknowledged that I have satisfactorily explained, he says—

"Having seen how unhappy this writer is in his statements of fact and in his criticisms; it may be proper to pay some attention to his mode of reasoning, in order to judge of his qualification to write history himself, or to give judgment respecting the qualifications of others.

"The letter from Pope Nicolas to Theodora was intended to console her in the time of suffering, of solitude, and of imprisonment. On this letter, Mr. Maitland argues thus: 'I must, however, add, that there seems to me [to be] a manifest absurdity, in supposing that the pope would [could] intend to refer to the Paulicians, or think of selecting such a topic for his letter of congratulation and consolation to the cloistered, and in fact, imprisoned

Empress. If he had written to her some twenty years before, when, in the plenitude of her power, she had just sent forth her agents to convert or destroy the heretics, [—or if at a later period he had been chronicling her acts for the Menology—] some encomium would not have been unnatural; but to write to her about the Paulicians, when, whether they had once been martyrs or no, they had certainly become rebels; while they were unsubdued, rampant and terrible; when her son, still living, had been defeated and disgraced, and obliged to fly before their arms: to have written to her of the Paulicians, in such circumstances, would surely have been going out of his way, to refer to a painful topic.*

“Now as the empress had been in confinement more than eleven years; it is certain, that whatever are the acts of prowess which the pope commemorates, they must have been performed long before the letter which celebrates them was written. The argument, therefore, drawn from the length of the interval, between the exploits of the Empress and the commendations of the Pope, is of little value. Nor, indeed, is there any thing unnatural or extraordinary in thus calling to mind distant topics of congratulation, to cheer the spirit under the pressure of present vexation and disappointment; especially when none more recent are to be found.”

* Facts and Documents, page 80. Letter to Rose, page 25.

I do not know whether Mr. King, by way of going all lengths with Milner, really means to contend that the Pope's letter did refer to the Paulicians; if he does, it is too obviously absurd to require any reply. One thing, however, is very certain, and, in a gentleman who comes forward with so much pretension to examine my “qualification to write history,” very unfortunate—namely, that he is sadly ignorant of the history himself. He obviously does not know that, so far from arguing that the Pope could not select an *old* story wherewith to console the Empress, I was contending that he had selected a story *older* than any of her transactions with the Paulicians. I found no fault with the age of the story; but merely observed that, if twenty years before the Pope had praised her for attacking the Paulicians, when she had

just begun her operations against them, one could have understood it; but that for him to have done it when he wrote, would have been incredibly absurd, not because it was an old story, but because it was a bad one—because she had been beaten, and those heretics were still unsubdued. I argued that, on these grounds alone it would appear probable that the Pope referred to an *older* story about the Iconoclasts, whom the Pope hated, and whom she had beaten—who had felt, what he calls, her “invincible strength,” before it was shewn not to be invincible by the Paulicians.

Mr. King goes on to say—

“There would have been more force in the objection arising from the absurdity of supposing the pope to refer to her exploits against the Paulicians, at the very moment when they were engaged in successful rebellion, against her *own son*; if that son had not been all along acting the most unnatural and undutiful part towards her, and if she had not been, at the moment of this correspondence, the victim of his tyranny.” p. 28.

The reader may naturally suppose the words which he puts in italics to be mine. By turning back to the passage he will see that they are not; and will also see that I laid no stress on the fact that Theodora's successor, who had been beaten as well as her herself by the Paulicians, was her son. If he had been a mere stranger, or a mere enemy, it would have been rather absurd to compliment the Empress on her glorious triumph over those who had not been triumphed over at all, but who had beaten both her and him.

Petrus Siculus and the Paulicians.

FROM a subject of less importance, Mr. King professes to “pass to one worthy of more serious attention.” In fact, he goes on to propose a question much more to the purpose than any thing which we have hitherto met with in his pam-

phlet. It really looks as if he was coming to the point so long neglected, and apparently forgotten, in his criticisms on my book. "It had long," he says, "been the generally received opinion that the *Paulicians* were *Manicheans*. "Milner came to a different conclusion. Had he, or had he not reasons to justify his decision?" Certainly this is a question which it is necessary for the defender of Milner fully to meet; and that the reader may see how it has been met by Mr. King, I must give rather a long extract. After this formal statement of the question he proceeds:—

"It is truly observed that all our knowledge of the Paulicians comes to us through their most violent adversaries. The works of no friendly historian have survived. Every ray of light which we have received concerning them, has passed through the distorting and discoloured medium of prejudice and enmity. And this consideration is sufficient to suggest the *utmost caution* in examining the scanty records of history, which have reached us, respecting this sect."

In this passage I have marked two words by *italics*, and referring to them I ask—

1. As Mr. King here speaks as if he knew about "every ray of light which we have received" concerning the Paulicians, and a little farther on tells us, "the truth is, that Photius and Peter Siculus are the *sole sources* of information respecting the facts of the history;" and as he talks of the "utmost caution in examining the scanty records of history" on this particular subject—had he, when he so wrote, carefully read Photius and Petrus Siculus? and (as he does not qualify the assertion in his more recent publication) does he stand by it, and still maintain that they are the "sole sources"?

2. Had he read the original of Petrus Siculus, or did he only know his work by the Latin translation to which he refers; and if he had the original, why did he prefer using the barbarous and incorrect translation?

3. Did he for himself consult that translation, or was he misled by an erroneous account of it?

That there are good grounds for asking these questions will appear presently. Mr. King goes on to say—

“Peter Siculus who had been sent by the emperor, Basil the Great, to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, in the year 870, resided for about nine months among them, and wrote their history, as Gibbon states, ‘with much prejudice and passion.’ The reader may form his own judgment from the following specimen. His title savours little of the sobriety and candour essential to authentic history. ‘Peter Siculus, on the vain and absurd (stolida) heresy of the Manicheans.’ He then describes the objects of his contempt. ‘The Paulicians are truly the same, not differing, in anything, from the Manicheans. Although they constantly assert that they are most remote from the impieties of the Manichees; yet they are the most vigilant keepers and defenders of their doctrines.’”

This attempt to get rid of Peter’s testimony, and to destroy his character as a witness, by the help of Gibbon’s infidel estimate, and by criticising a title which he probably did not write—or rather a translation which is certainly not his—seems to me very extraordinary. Does Mr. King mean not only to maintain that the Paulicians were not Manicheans, but that those who considered them as Manicheans had no right to speak of them as the maintainers of “a vain and absurd heresy”—*κενῆς καὶ ματαιίας αἱρέσεως*?

As to Peter’s account of the Paulicians, I do not see that it peculiarly indicates contempt, and I dare say it was very true. The fact that Manicheans were ordered to be put to death would be a sufficient reason why many who held Manichean doctrines should deny them. But Peter tells us of a more honest reason—namely, that a great part of them, though actually holding Manichean doctrine, did not know it under that name. Constantine, when he renewed (not reconsidered) the heresy, or put it into a new form, and pretended to derive it from a new source, and was in fact looked upon as a new leader, (*νέος τις ὁδηγὸς ἀπωλείας*)

taught his disciples actually to anathematize the name of Manes, while he was teaching them Manichean doctrine. So that their descendants, in the time of Peter Siculus, (*οἱ νῦν περιόντες τῶν Μανιχαίων παῖδες*) were not aware of the trick which had been put upon their ancestors two hundred years before.

Mr. King immediately proceeds to give a passage between marks of quotation, and purporting to be a translation from the work of Petrus Siculus; which, with his comment upon it, is as follows:—

“ ‘ There was, in the reign of Constans, (about the year 653) not far from Samosata, in Armenia, a certain native called Constantine, dwelling in the village of Mananalis, which the Manichees inhabit to this day. He had brought with him a certain captive deacon out of Syria, who presented Constantine with the gospel and the epistles of Paul. But he (Constantine) who for a long time had held in abhorrence his own wicked and impure heresy, (viz. Manicheism) on account of its impious sayings and filthy crimes, regarding it as a most pestilent religion; determined to re-consider it, (removere) and to spread it more widely abroad, at the instigation of some demon, as it is but just to suppose. Afterwards he would touch no book, except the gospel and the epistles; having, doubtless, this design that he might carefully conceal the whole mischief of the heresy; as those who mix poisoned cups sweeten them with honey and then quaff them off. Having now become acquainted, through the Manichean books, with all the arts of every impiety; he, by the help of Satan, presently attained the power, by falsely interpreting the sense of the gospel and of the apostle, to wrest them at will, to his own purpose. He therefore entirely cast aside the Manichean writings; and was chiefly induced to do so, because he saw that on account of them, many were put to the sword. This, therefore, the divine and orthodox emperors have added to their other distinguished deeds, that they have commanded the Manichees and the Montanists to be capitally punished, and their books wherever found to be committed to the flames; and if any one should be discovered in the attempt to conceal them, he must suffer death, and his goods be confiscated.’ *

* Bib. Pat. Max. Tom. xvi. pag. 754, 759. Lugd. 1677.

“ Such a story conveys its own confutation. Constantine, we are told, was educated in a Manichean village, and had been an attentive student of Manichean books. These were so filled with impurities, as to create disgust, and he rejected them with horror. At length he receives the gospel, and the reading of the sacred volume renews his relish for the impieties which he had abandoned. In short, Manichean books convert him from Manicheism, and the Word of God brings him back to the polluting system, which his own sense of propriety had taught him to abandon ! The gospel becomes the *honey* which entices him to drink up the poisoned cup of heresy, though he had before turned from it, in deep disgust ! The adverse testimony of one so lavish in his accusations, and so regardless of consistency or probability in his manner of alleging them, is destitute of all credibility ; while every word of commendation which he utters will, doubtless, fall far beneath the truth ; for prejudice never veils a fault which it is able to expose, nor reveals a virtue which it has the power to hide.

“ The undisputed facts of the case, elicited from this extraordinary narrative are these : Constantine had become dissatisfied with the errors of his education and the immoralities of the system in which he had been brought up, and was thus prepared for a change in his sentiments. He had met with a christian captive, to whom he manifested a kind disposition, having probably redeemed him from slavery, and brought him to his own home. The only testimony of gratitude which the ransomed slave had it in his power to give, was a copy of the Scriptures, which Constantine received with joy, studied with diligence, and at length preached with great effect to others. Was it not then a reasonable inference. which Milner drew from these facts, that the truths of the gospel had been cordially embraced, by this leader of the Paulician sect, and that he and his followers, though branded by enemies, as Manicheans, were humble disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ.” p. 30.

It is hard to say what Milner might have reasonably inferred from “these facts ;” but where was he to find them ? Mr. King’s translation was not made ; and they exist, I believe, no where else. It is indeed one of the most extraordinary specimens of translation that I have ever seen ; and I feel it right plainly to say that if Mr. King is so ignorant of latin as from this attempt (and some others which I will

point out if he wishes it) he appears to be, he should not pretend to translate it. There is no excuse of haste for a pamphlet which was so long in the press; and which the author had had such ample time and such broad hints to reconsider and correct. As to this particular part of the subject, he set about it with a conviction that the "utmost caution" was to be used in examining the record which he had in hand. In fact, if he had the latin to which he refers before him, nothing but sheer ignorance and incapacity to translate it, can account for his having made such nonsense of it, and still regarding it with such complacency, as that in his second pamphlet he calls my attention to it in terms of sarcasm. He tauntingly says, "the second topic to which I adverted in my comparison between you and Milner, was the character of the Paulicians. Now, omitting the general question, which *I suppose you mean to take up at your convenience*, I cannot but refer," &c. p. 16. As to my convenience, I am sure it is very inconvenient to spend time and trouble and money in exposing such absurdity; and what is more—and I feel that I may say it after such protracted silence*—it is repugnant to my feelings unnecessarily to expose any man, though he may be conceited as well as ignorant. But does Mr. King allow a choice? Moreover, Mr. Faber announces that he is going to undertake the defence of the Paulicians, and to shew that they were not

* Not chusing to rely on the text of the only edition of the Bibliotheca Patrum then at hand, and thinking it a bare possibility that the edition referred to by Mr. King might contain what would account for some of his extraordinary translation, I requested a friend to collate the most suspicious part with that edition. My letter, containing the request, was sent on the 13th of August—that is within three weeks of the time when I received Mr. King's first pamphlet, and more than a month before I sent to the press any part of the letter to him, in which I made no allusion to the matter. Truly I can say that I expected him to find out the blunders which he had committed; and that he would have learned from Mr. Dowling, something on a subject into which he had thrust himself with the characteristic boldness of unconscious ignorance.

Manicheans. Whether in this, as respecting Reinerius, he has been misled by Mr. King, I do not know; but it is highly desirable that, before he sets to work on any such business, he should read Mr. Dowling's pamphlet on the subject, and try if he can fairly and solidly refute it. If he cannot, (and I think no man can) it is earnestly to be hoped that he will abandon his purpose, at whatever cost to his prophetic system.

As to Mr. King's translation, however, we might ask how he came to translate "*fuit.....non procul a Samosata Armeniæ indigena quidam Constantinus nomine*" by "there was not far from Samosata in Armenia a certain native called Constantine." Did he think that Samosata was in Armenia? Undoubtedly—for he afterwards tells us that this Constantine "had brought with him a captive deacon *out of Syria.*" Where to? to Samosata, which was *in Syria*?—and where did Mr. King find anything about Constantine's *bringing* the deacon to, or from, any place? Again, where did he find the (*removere*) which he gives as if it were the original? and, when he had found it, how did he manage to make it mean "reconsider"? How could he with the *Bibliotheca Patrum* before his eyes, and an evident impression that "*removere*" was a very odd word, which required a very hard wrench to get a meaning at all, and which, when he had translated, he felt it necessary to print, in order that people might judge for themselves whether he had really got the meaning—how could he, I say, with all this, and with "the utmost caution," in examining the record, fail to perceive that the word was not "*removere*" at all, but "*renovare*"? But all such minor questions are useless, and all lesser mistakes are eclipsed by Mr. King's total misconception of the passage which he has attempted to translate, and the gross misrepresentation which he has made of it, and grounded upon it. This can

only be clearly shewn by comparing a part of Mr. King's pretended translation with the original; and for that purpose, I will here reprint it. He is pleased to sneer at my way of translating, and to tell me that I exercise my "reader's patience, by construing in a schoolboy style;" yet I will so far trust to that patience as to place beside his own more free and easy version, a literal translation in which I have, as far as I could, retained his words. The latin I give at the foot of the page.

MR. KING'S TRANSLATION.

There was, in the reign of Constans, (about the year 653)

not far from Samosata, in Armenia, a certain native called Constantine, dwelling in the village of Mananalis, which the Manichees inhabit to this day. He had brought with him

a certain captive deacon out of Syria, who

presented Constantine with

the Gospel and the Epistles of Paul. But he

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

There was in the reign of Constantine (or Constans) the grandson of Heraclius not far from Samosata, a certain native of Armenia called Constantine, dwelling in the village of Mananalis, which the Manichees inhabit to this day. This person received into his house, and treated as his guest for some days, a certain captive deacon, who (as is certainly known) was returning into his own country out of Syria; and chanced to go through Mananalis. The Deacon therefore that he might as it were repay his host for this kindness presented Constantine with two books which he had brought with him out of Syria; namely the Gospel and the Epistles of Paul. But he,

* Fuit imperante Constantino (seu Constante) Heraclii nepote, non procul a Samosatis, Armeniæ indigena quidam, Constantinus nomine, vicum incolens Mananalim, quem ad hunc usque diem habitant Manichæi. Hic diaconum quendam captivum qui e Syria (ut constat) in patriam revertebatur et Mananalim forte præteribat, tecto excepit, aluitque dies aliquot domi suæ. Diaconus ergo ut hanc quasi gratiam hospiti suo rependeret, codices duos, quos e Syria secum tulerat, Evangelium scilicet Paulique epistolas, dono dedit Con-

(Constantine) who for a long time had held in abhorrence his own wicked and impure heresy, (viz. Manicheism)

on account of its impious sayings and filthy crimes, regarding it as a most pestilent religion ; determined

to reconsider it, (removere) and to spread it more widely abroad, at the instigation of some Demon, as it is but just to suppose. Afterwards he would touch no book, except the Gospel and the Epistles ; having, doubtless, this design that he might carefully conceal the whole mischief of the heresy ; as those who mix poisoned cups sweeten them with honey and then quaff them off.

Having now become acquainted, through the Manichean books, with all the arts of every impiety ; he, by the help of Satan, presently attained the power, by falsely interpreting the sense of the Gospel and of the Apostle, to wrest them at will, to his own purpose.

who for a long time had observed that his wicked and impure heresy was an object of hatred and horror to all persons on account of the impious sayings and filthy crimes, which are contained in the Manichean writings, conceived the idea as a matter of religion carefully to renovate (renovare) and to spread more widely abroad, that pest. The Devil, as it is but just to suppose, instigating him, not to touch from that time forward any book but those of the Gospel and the Apostle ; having, forsooth, this design that by their help he might conceal all the stain of the evil ; as those who administer poisoned cups smear and cover them with honey

And indeed, since, as I have already said, he had become acquainted through the Manichean books with all the arts of every impiety, he by the help of Satan presently attained so far that, by falsely interpreting the meanings of the Gospel and the Apostle, he could easily wrest them to his purpose as he would, and according to his pleasure.

stantino, at ille, qui jampridem nefariam atque impuram heresim suam propter impia dicta foedaque flagitia, quæ Manichæorum scriptis continentur omnibus odio atque horrore esse animadverterat, uti pietatem, magnopere pestem illam renovare iterum atque latius diffundere in animum induxit, dæmone, ut par est, instigante, librum deinceps præter Evangelii et Apostoli codices nullum attingere ; hoc spectans nimirum ut mali labem universam eorum ope obsteget : quemadmodum qui noxia pocula propinant, eadem melle obliniunt atque obducunt. Et quidem ille cum Manichæorum libris (ut diximus) omnes jam cujusque impietatis artes percepisset, tantum mox Satanæ ope assecutus est, ut Evangelii Apostolique sensus perperam interpretando, facile omnes in rem suam, quo vellet, et pro libidine detorqueret. Manichæorum itaque scripta (ut dictum est) idcirco protinus abjecit, et hanc etiam maxime ob causam,

He therefore entirely cast aside the Manichean writings; and was chiefly induced to do so, because he saw that on account of them, many were put to the sword. This, therefore, the divine and orthodox emperors have added to their other distinguished deeds, &c.

He therefore (as has been said) entirely cast aside the writings of the Manicheans and was chiefly induced to do so because he saw that on account of them many were put to the sword. For this the divine and orthodox Emperors have added to their other distinguished deeds, &c.*

Does this require any comment? Have I not said enough to shew that it could not be fear which induced me to overlook what is now so rudely thrust in my face? I have gone through about half Mr. King's Waldensian and Paulician statements counting by pages, or two-thirds if we reckon by subjects. As to these two subjects—Reinerius Saccho, and the Paulicians—I have not, I believe, passed over anything which could require notice, or which I could be suspected of wishing to evade. As to the third subject; or, as Mr. King calls it, “general topic of comparison,” I cannot persuade myself that it is necessary to enter upon it at present, farther than to say, that there, and there only, I believe, Mr. King has convicted me of a mistake. I have already publicly acknowledged that, in speaking of events which took place in the year 1178, and quoting three letters respecting them, I erroneously assigned them all to that year, while, in fact, one was written in the preceding year, 1177. On this third subject which, as he says, “involves “the question respecting the identity of the Albigenses and “Waldenses,” Mr. King writes in his second pamphlet as triumphantly as he does about the Paulicians:—

“Here again the general question is indefinitely postponed; and I am not to assume that Milner has any advantage over you in the argument, or that you have fallen into any of the errors.

quod multos videbat eo nomine gladio cædi. Hoc siquidem ad cætera sua egregia facinora divini atque orthodoxi Imperatores addiderunt, &c.

which I have enumerated, because though at present you decline all self-vindication, yet you 'concede nothing whatever!' But this portion also of your history includes several *specific charges* against Milner, which I have attempted to answer. If I have proved him right, I have proved you wrong. If you, however, are resolved to evade, or put off the discussion, I may ask once more, Who is it that flinches 'from the real question?' " p. 16.

I am sorry that Mr. King should be so deluded as to talk in this way about discussing a question of which he is so very ignorant. I am putting off nothing but the exposure of ignorance, and mistakes, and misrepresentations very like what I have been obliged, in order to clear my character from his charges, to expose; and, if what I have here written, instead of producing from him any acknowledgment that he falsely accused me in the matter of Reinerius, and grossly, however ignorantly, abused the public as to the testimony of Petrus Siculus, should only call forth fresh taunts about evading and flinching, fresh boasts of authority and superior information, and a fresh challenge to grapple with the second half of the pamphlet, I am quite prepared to do it—quite willing that all which I have here said about the first half of his pamphlet should go for nothing, and to rest the case on the mistranslations, mistakes, and misrepresentations, which that second half will supply.

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Maitland, Samuel Roffey,

Remarks on that part of the rev. J. Kings pamphlet entitled, Maitland not authorized to censure Milner which relates to the Waldenses including a reply to the rev. G. S. Fabers supplement, entitled Reinerius and Maitland

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